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SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 1368th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 9 August 1990, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. SLABY (Czechoslovakia) (Vice-Chairman)

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In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Slaby (Czechoslovakia), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

QUESTION OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS (MALVINAS)

The CHAIRMAN: Before resuming the hearings on the question of East Timor, I wish to draw members' attention to draft resolution L.1743 on the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), which was circulated this morning and is available at the documents booth in this Conference Room.

QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR (A/AC.109/1037 and Add.1 and A/AC.109/1045 and Add.1) (continued)

At the invitation of the Chairman, Sister Mary Beth Reissen, Pax Christi International, took a place at the petitioners' table.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on Sister Reissen.

Sister REISSEN: Pax Christi International Catholic Peace Movement welcomes this opportunity to petition the Special Committee once again concerning East Timor. However, at the same time we regret that we must do so because the people of East Timor has not yet been able freely to exercise its right to self-determination. We view the over 100,000 deaths in East Timor since its invasion by Indonesia in 1975 as indicative of genocide. The people of East Timor continues to endure a war situation, a severe repression in which its basic human rights and fundamental freedoms are gravely and daily violated. In the words of Bishop Belo, Apostolic Administrator of Dili:

"... we are dying as a people and a nation".

He is referring here to the East Timorese people.

Pax Christi International deplores the summary executions of East Timorese, arbitrary arrests and detentions, the disappearance of many imprisoned persons, torture, forced sterilizations, resettlements and conscription into the Indonesian

(Sister Reissen)

army. We decry the situation in which East Timorese are deprived of their fundamental freedoms, particularly those of speech, assembly and movement.

Indeed, we are mindful of the strong appeal that His Holiness Pope John Paul II made for the protection of human rights in East Timor on the occasion of his 12 October 1989 visit to the Territory:

> "Respect for the rights which render life more human must be ensured - the rights of individuals and the rights of families. I pray that those who have responsibility for life in East Timor will act with wisdom and goodwill towards all".

We are saddened by the fact that, according to Amnesty International, in conjunction with the Pope's visit at least 25 persons, most of them students, were detained for allegedly taking part in pro-independence demonstrations. Some were reported to have been ill-treated or tortured at the time of their arrest and while in detention. We have word that as of December 1989 at least 10 of those persons remained in military detention centres.

We have also learned that last March four Lalerek-Mutin villagers were severely beaten and interrogated by Indonesian troops. Subsequently, one of those villagers, Candido Amaral, was executed by a firing squad Our information comes from TAPOL, August 1990.

Pax Christi International has repeatedly called on United Nations bodies to take action leading to the cessation of massacres in East Timor. We are grieved to learn of new massacres that have occurred since last April in several villages in the south-western districts of Ainaro and Bobonaro. We have received that word from the Australian Council for Overseas Aid.

We call for the application of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to the sorely persecuted people of East Timor and for an end to all Indonesian

(Sister Reissen)

military operations in East Timor. We have learned that a new operation began last March. We also call for the withdrawal of Indonesian populations sent to East Timor, the end of all resettlement programmes for the East Timorese and the opening of the entire Territory to humanitarian assistance organizations and international human rights organizations.

Pax Christi International makes its own the appeal of Bishop Belo, which he expressed in his letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 6 February 1989. Bishop Belo requested the Secretary-General to conduct a referendum in East Timor under United Nations auspices. We view Bishop Belo's appeal not as being motivated by personal or sectarian interests but as embodying the wishes of the people of East Timor as a whole.

As a follow-up to Bishop Belo's appeal, we urge the Special Committee to dispatch a visiting mission to East Timor to meet with Bishop Belo and other East Timor leaders, in the words of General Assembly resolution 44/101:

> "to recommend to the General Assembly the most suitable steps to be taken to enable the population of (this) Territor(y) to exercise their right to self-determination and independence" (para. 11 (d)).

(Sister Reissen)

Pax Christi International calls your attention to a public campaign, now world wide, in support of Bishop Belo's petition for a referendum in East Timor. That campaign follows the initiative of Bishop Aloisius Soma, President of the Japan Catholic Council for Justice and Peace, begun last year in the Asia/Oceania region. To date, the campaign has received the signatures of some 270 members of the Catholic hierarchy, more than 100 Christian movements and organizations and more than 4,000 individuals, including clergy, religious persons and statespersons from 50 countries.

The Special Committee has received a report stating that the Catholic Church operates freely in East Timor. We have received information which contradicts this. No Catholic youth organizations are permitted in East Timor. Foreign priests now missioned to East Timor encounter difficulties in having their visas renewed. No foreign missionaries, unless they are Indonesian, may enter East Timor. The administration and faculty of Sao Jose School at Dili are experiencing pressures, inquiries and intimidation from the Indonesian authorities. East Timorese priests continue to be interrogated by those same authorities.

Furthermore, we are gravely concerned about the personal safety of Bishop Belo. There is an urgent need to guarantee freedom of expression for the Catholic Church in East Timor and to end intimidation. Bishop Belo and the people of East Timor have a right to ask when article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights - relating to the right to life, liberty and security - will apply to them. Be assured that Pax Christi International will continue its efforts in behalf of the people of East Timor so that they will exercise their right to self-determination and the other human rights that accrue from it.

Sister Reissen withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Jose Luis Guterres (FRETILIN) took a place at the petitioners' table.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on Mr. Guterres.

Mr. GUTERRES (FRETILIN): On behalf of FRETILIN, the National Resistance Movement of East Timor, I thank you, Sir, for the opportunity to address the Special Committee on decolonization on the question of East Timor.

A few days ago, the Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the use of force in international relations. Almost 15 years ago, a similar situation occurred in East Timor. A small island territory was invaded by a large and powerful neighbour. Many excuses were presented, but none of them convinced the members of the Security Council. In its meeting on 22 December 1975, the Council unanimously approved a resolution calling upon the Government of Indonesia:

"to withdraw without delay all its forces from the Territory" (Security Council resolution 384 (1975), para. 2).

Almost 15 years have gone by, and Indonesian military and security forces still occupy East Timor; they have been almost 15 years of terror and massacre. About one third of our population has died during the military invasion and occupation. We hope that this nightmare cannot be repeated in other regions or countries.

Since last August, important events have taken place in East Timor. The visit of His Holiness Pope John Paul II brought great hope to the Timorese. The pastoral visit was a clear sign that the Holy Father has not forgotten the Timorese Catholic Church or his people. His message of reconciliation and peace still beats in our hearts and minds. We hope that that message will also find a place in the hearts and minds of the Indonesian authorities.

In our statement last year, we reported a massive military operation involving large numbers of special battalions. The operation was a failure. The Timorese

(Mr. Guterres)

National Army made many successful attacks, and new military equipment was captured. Again, the Indonesian generals involved in those operations failed.

The victories of the Timor National Army and the new international situation have encouraged the young generation living in East Timor and Indonesia to demonstrate peacefully in the streets of Dili, the capital of East Timor, and in Bali, Indonesia. The reaffirmation of a multi-party system in East Timor by the Commander-in-Chief of the Timor National Army and by FRETILIN has spurred the creation of various organizations, all of which, whatever their ideology, support the struggle against the Indonesian occupation.

At the beginning of this year, in the continuation of FALINTIL military operations, two helicopters were shot down by our forces. The first was at Berkoli, in the Venilale area, where 12 high-ranking military officers - four lieutenant-colonels and eight majors - died. Another helicopter crashed at Laritani. In the same period, the third unit of FALINTIL under Commander Bian attacked the Indonesian miltary positions stationed in the second main town of Baucau. Simultaneous action took place in Berkoli and in Venilale. During those operations, 9 enemy soldiers were killed and military equipment seized.

This year, military operations have taken place all over the country. For those interested, a map has been included in the annex to my statement showing the most important military operations and the places where the battles took place.

At the same time, demonstrations were taking place in the occupied cities. During the visit to East Timor of the United States Ambassador to Indonesia, John Monjo, hundreds of students demonstrated at the Turismo Hotel and presented a letter to the Ambassador. The demonstrators were demanding freedom for East Timor and international intervention for the achievement of peace in East Timor.

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(Mr. Guterres)

In the presence of the Ambassador, the military and police did not intervene. Soon after the American Ambassador left, they did intervene, injuring some students. The demonstration lasted for three days. In the last day, military reprisals injured 60 people.

The reopening of East Timor to visitors and the present so-called freedom are mere propaganda. In the Indonesian island of Bali, about 200 university students peacefully demonstrated in solidarity with their fellows from East Timor, demanding the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor. Those students are now on a black list. The military commander of the district, Lieutenant-Colonel Deantoru, said that the Timorese students would be killed if they continued to protest the military decisions.

(Mr. Guterres)

We call upon Indonesia to implement the United Nations resolutions, including Security Council resolutions 384 (1975), of 22 December 1975, and 389 (1976), of 22 April 1976, and the relevant General Assembly resolutions. We appeal to Indonesia to take into account the various resolutions on East Timor of the European Parliament, the Interparliamentary Union and the European Economic Commission, as well as the joint resolutions on Timor of the African, Caribbean and Pacific States and the European Economic Commission, and the Sri Lankan and Cuban resolutions, for the non-aligned countries. We appeal to Indonesia to take into account also the various letters on the Timor question from members of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States.

Indonesia's response to all those resolutions has been to increase its military presence and repression. A country that in the past had been an example for us now prefers the military language of the cannon rather than the language of diplomacy. It has imposed the language of war in Timor.

Today another military operation is taking place. About 40,000 troops are involved in this operation. Its objectives are the same as those of the previous military operations during the past 15 years. Part of the troops are now concentrated in Ataputo, a port in the Indonesian part of the island. The main forces are located in the eastern part of East Timor. For this operation Indonesia has recruited by force 6,000 Timorese, as auxiliary troops to help the Indonesian army. The majority of them are middle-aged peasants.

As part of Indonesia's strategy, the Indonesian military authorities are destroying the forests. Indonesia is destroying our environment.

For this global operation, Indonesia has trained schoolboys to spy for Indonesia. They are rewarded if they denounce someone; and the prizes are greater if they denounce their own families. Thus, Indonesia is trying to destroy all the moral values that we are fighting for.

(Mr. Guterres)

Long ago they forced all the villagers to live near the roads, in order to avoid their contacts with the guerrillas. They have moved people from one region to another, thereby destroying the social organization of our society. Some East Timorese were recently moved to an Indonesian island. Perhaps the final objective of this policy is to transmigrate the Timorese to other islands and populate East Timor with Javanese.

The human rights situation is worsening. In a letter addressed to the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights in Jakarta, 33 young persons who had taken refuge in the Bishop's house in November 1989 pointed out:

"We are a group of young Timorese who are chased by the army, to be arrested."

The letter continues:

"All of this happened because we do not accept the human rights violations in East Timor and the inhuman treatment towards us".

These students were later released, but some of them were chased by the police, and their whereabouts are unknown.

On 14 March this year, two men from Gariwai, in Baucau, were captured in a rice field in Liasidi, where they were engaged in planting. Soldiers of the 315th battalion beat them to death.

On 13 May a resident of Samalary was killed, and many others were wounded by soldiers of the same battalion.

In the annex to our written statement, more complete information is given about the human rights violations.

In the light of the new international atmosphere, we appeal to the Indonesian military authorities to refrain from new operations, in order to facilitate the understanding and dialogue between all parties concerned called for in General Assembly resolution 37/30.

(Mr. Guterres)

We are prepared to engage in dialogue with Indonesia without any pre-conditions. We are prepared to participate in any referendum or election supervised by the United Nations.

In conclusion, I should like to refer to the "Timor Gap" provisional agreement between Indonesia and Australia. We, the citizens of East Timor, in the political party that I represent, cannot accept this agreement as legal. All the relevant resolutions on the question of East Timor demand that all countries respect our right to self-determination and to respect our territorial integrity. We therefore appeal to all the multinationals not to explore for oil in our country until a peaceful political settlement is achieved. We do recognize the extreme importance of many oil multinationals for the exploration of natural resources and for their contribution to the economic development of many countries. In a free, democratic and independent East Timor, they will all be welcomed.

We thank the Special Committee for continuing to include in its agenda consideration of the question of East Timor.

Mr. Guterres withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Ms. Laurie Ferguson (Parliamentarians for East Timor, Australia's Commonwealth Parliament) took a place at the petitioners' table.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Ms. Ferguson.

Ms. FERGUSON: I have come to join the ranks of petitioners who for more than a decade have been appealing to this Committee, and to the world at large, on behalf of the basic human rights of the people of East Timor. Their aspirations to an independent existence were cruelly dashed when Indonesian forces invaded the capital, Dili, 15 years ago this December.

(Ms. Ferguson)

I am a Member of Parliament, representing the Australian Labour Party. I must stress, however, that I am addressing this forum in an unofficial capacity, and my views are not those of my Government. On the other hand, concern for what has happened in East Timor and support for a genuine act of self-determination by the Timorese people are shared by many of my colleagues, including members of the Government. I would note that the most recent conference of the Party's largest state branch - New South Wales - passed a unanimous resolution urging admittance of a Portuguese parliamentary delegation.

Whilst I personally feel that Foreign Minister Gareth Evan's contention that

"the best way for Australia to help is to work with the Indonesian authorities in developing East Timor and raising the living conditions of the people"

is somewhat misplaced, I commend recent aid by Australia. This should entail improved veterinary services, eradication of livestock diseases and consideration of projects for training, sanitation plans and agricultural support.

Australia has a regional, a world, a humanitarian imperative to increase monitoring of the situation. I note that Australia's official policy

"Declares that Australia will continue to raise questions of human rights in East Timor and seek free access for the media, international organizations and aid workers".

The struggle of the Timorese and their supporters has been a tiring and frustrating one. They are a small people up against their populous Indonesian captors. Additionally, they suffer from international apathy towards the plight of minor nations that lack the strategic or economic importance to entice the interest of the major Powers.

However, it is a struggle that cannot simply be abandoned for the sake of political expediency; for the issue at stake - the right to self-determination - is central, even indispensable, to the notion of a just and humane international

(Ms. Ferguson)

order. This is the same issue Australian unionists, students and my Party acted for during the attempts by the Netherlands to thwart Indonesian independence.

Forty-five years ago, when the United Nations Charter was proclaimed, self-determination was either a luxury or a concession from an imperial Power. All that has changed. Since the United Nations General Assembly passed resolution 1514 (XV) in 1960, self-determination has been an inalienable right, demanded not only by peoples in colonial bondage but also for them by the world community. In the past 25 years no former colonial people, no matter how small in number or how undeveloped its territory, has been denied the right to exercise its choice about its future. Virtually all such peoples have chosen independence, the only sure way of protecting their cultural and economic rights - that is to say, none except for the people of East Timor. What we are appealing for on this occasion is not a special status but something that has been accorded as a sacred right to all those peoples that have endured colonial rule.

Indonesia contends that an act of self-determination took place in 1976. That is simply untrue, as Bishop Belo, East Timor's Catholic leader, has made clear in his appeal to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Indonesia's Defence Minister, General Benny Murdani, who in fact planned and led the military annexation of East Timor in 1975, has arrogantly dismissed that appeal. In April this year, among other things he laid down the law to his Timorese listeners: "Don't dream there will be a nation called Timor - there won't be". Certainly Murdani has many supporters - including States that place human rights high on their foreign-policy agendas - based on the assertion that Indonesia will never give up East Timor. A year or so ago that assertion sounded more convincing than it does today, for similar remarks were made about Eastern Europe and the Baltic States. The position of those countries has radically changed and with that change our tolerance of the idea of holding nations in captivity has also diminished.

(Ms. Ferguson)

The related easing of super-Power tensions must be noted. It provides the opportunity for a new emphasis on human rights. It undermines tolerance of repression based on international alignment.

The granting of self-determination has become the most successful of the basic human rights principles translated into international humanitarian law by the United Nations. Indeed, the case of East Timor stands out in stark contrast to the orderly decolonization process, which is arguably the greatest achievement of the United Nations, and the special responsibility of this Committee.

May I remind the Committee that the tragedy of East Timor is not just about the question of self-determination. The brutal way in which this Territory was seized, at the cost of more than 150,000 lives, compounds the seriousness of this violation of international law and human rights. The precise number of lives lost is not known, but let me point out a sobering statistical revelation. In 1975 East Timor had a population of nearly 690,000, which was growing at a rate of about 2 per cent. Today it should therefore be more than 930,000. In fact, according to Indonesian figures, it is less than 650,000, and this figure includes Indonesians living in East Timor. In relative terms, this is a loss of population without equal in world trouble spots since the end of the Second World War.

Recent reports from human rights organizations, including Asia Watch and Amnesty International, as well as from our own Timorese sources in Australia, suggest that, for all the easing of movement controls, development activity and the partial opening up of the Territory, the Timorese are still virtually in a form of colonial captivity.

The authority of Timorese officials is more titular than real. This assessment has been confirmed by senior Indonesian academics from the prestigious Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta. According to their report, completed in

(Ms. Ferguson)

March, East Timor is still undergoing a war economy and is permeated by what they call the trauma of integration. The study also refers repeatedly to an overdose of control by the Indonesian armed forces and excesses in the form of human rights abuses by the security apparatus, and calls for an immediate end to the prolonged war condition.

The strength of FRETILIN's armed resistance may have been reduced, but according to our information, confirmed by the Gadjah Mada study, the overwhelming majority of the Timorese people are strongly opposed to the oppressive Indonesian presence.

There is a special concern with the steady inflow of transmigrants and others from elsewhere in Indonesia.

The picture that meets the scrutiny of those who care to take a close look at the present situation in East Timor is of a people living in colonial conditions, a scenario that is an affront to the spirit of the United Nations Charter - which carries obligations for all Members of the world body - as well as a violation of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

The recent events in Europe are manifestly an unequivocal rejection of the kind of neo-colonialism that persists in East Timor today, and serve to strengthen the legitimacy of the case we are presenting to the decolonisation Committee. Those events have also had the effect of reviving the concern of Australians for the plight of the Timorese people, who after all are among our closest neighbours. They have suffered far more than most other oppressed minorities. So how can we contemplate accepting the status quo, in effect a blatant act of unprovoked annexation? How can we expect the Timorese to accept what is, in this day and age, clearly unacceptable?

As for the position of Indonesia, we are well aware that the seizure of East Timor was from the outset a covert operation mounted by a group of ABRI generals;

(Ms. Ferguson)

it was not an expression of the wishes of the Indonesian people, who were neither consulted nor informed of this outrageous operation. We know that this operation has disturbed the consciences of many of those who have been confronted with the ugly truth, and we believe that many in Indonesia would welcome with relief a just settlement of an affair which has cast a shadow of shame over the Republic, which this year is celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of its declaration of independence from Dutch colonial rule.

We are constantly being reminded of how small East Timor is, of how undeveloped it was when Indonesian forces carried out their invasion, and of the improvement in its economy since that time. By world standards its population and size are of course rather small, but not by the standard in our region, where there are numerous small island States enjoying independence. In fact, when compared with these South Pacific nations in our own neighbourhood, East Timor is a sizeable country, comparable to Fiji - one of the largest Pacific Island States and a significant player in regional affairs.

As for the economic benefits of Indonesian rule - which are far from clear, for most of Timor's larger enterprises are now under Indonesian control - 15 years of independence would have created its own momentum. Had they not been invaded, with their rich off-shore oil resources the Timorese nation, numbering about 930,000 people, could today well be moving towards the kind of prosperity being enjoyed by small States like Brunei.

The Timor Gap Treaty, recently entered into by Australia and Indonesia, is an acknowledgement of the real potential of these resources. This Treaty, however, makes no provision for the sharing of revenue from the exploitation of these resources with the Timorese people.

I do not propose to speculate on what form the future State of East Timor might have. That is a matter for the Timorese themselves, and might well be open

(Ms. Ferguson)

to negotiation with Indonesia. What is not negotiable, however, is the right of the Timorese themselves to make the choice freely, in accordance with the spirit of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Indpendence to Colonial Countries and Peoples - resolution 1514 (XV).

The Timor question presents the United Nations with a very special challenge, for it concerns the rights of the small, the vulnerable and the weak, whose protection is the severest test of the integrity of the United Nations system.

I wish to conclude with some remarks developing the introductory point made by the Reverend Mr. Moore. Today, regardless of other nations' contributions to the Middle East problems, and despite the understandable doubts of Arab nations, there is a great degree of international solidarity about Saddam Hussein's actions. However, Iraq's severest critics have not predicted a fate for the Kuwaitis or the Saudis as horrendous as that visited upon the Timorese. International action has not been commensurate with this.

Ms. Ferguson withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Ms. Jean Inglis (Free East Timor Japan Coalition) took a place at the petitioners' table.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Ms. Inglis.

Ms. INGLIS: I have the honour of representing the Free East Timor Japan Coalition, an association of citizens' groups in Japan which is working to raise public awareness of the East Timor issue, particularly with respect to Japan's involvement.

Fifteen years ago interested parties in Japan fully expected that East Timor would speedily achieve independence. An organization called the Japan-Timor Association had sent fact-finding missions to the Territory and had drawn up a $300 million development project which it planned to launch after independence was achieved. The Association closely monitored events in East Timor, and the

(Ms. Inglis)

conclusions it arrived at then have, I believe, a lot to tell us about why, 15 years later, the Indonesian takeover of East Timor has not satisfied the just desire of the Timorese for self-determination.

As the Committee knows, the Timorese were originally given the options of independence, association with Portugal, or integration with Indonesia, and there were Timorese parties representing each of these options. In September 1975 it appeared to the Japanese businessmen that total independence was the inevitable outcome of the decolonization process. They believed that of the various forces "the group that stands for total independence will doubtless be victorious," because this was the wish of the "Timorese masses".

As for the option of joining Indonesia, the Association spokesman categorically stated that

"the Timorese do not like Indonesia, and thus only a very few people would like to be under Indonesian rule."

(Ms. Inglis)

However, although East Timor did not want Indonesia, it was clear that Indonesia wanted East Timor and was "very interested in intervening". The Association spokesperson painted a then hypothetical scenario in which Indonesian troops invaded East Timor with heavy artillery and tanks, met with resistance and got bogged down in a guerrilla war. The Association member predicted - incorrectly, as it turned out - that Indonesia would not attempt an invasion because it had "international public opinion" to contend with.

Of course, three months later Indonesian troops did invade East Timor. And when that happened, official Japanese policy was one of active support for Indonesia. Not only was Japan one of the 12 countries which voted against the General Assembly resolution (resolution 3485 (XXX)) of 12 December 1975 calling on Indonesia to withdraw its troops from East Timor, but the Japanese Ambassador at the time, by his own admission, lobbied to garner support for Indonesia.

Just as international public opinion did not prevent Indonesia from invading, Japanese public opinion did not prevent the Japanese Government from giving de facto support to the invasion. As a matter of fact, it was not until the 1980s that in-depth information on East Timor began to circulate among non-governmental organizations in Japan concerned with human rights and, through them, to reach the mass media.

Now, 15 years later, if one asks what was gained by Japan's closing its eyes to the brutal invasion of East Timor, I am afraid that not even one positive result can be cited. Indonesian troops have yet to withdraw from the Territory, and, as we know from the poignant letter sent last year by the bishop of East Timor to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the people of East Timor are still waiting for the opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination. The decolonization process in East Timor has not moved forward one iota since 1975.

(Ms. Inglis)

The reports from East Timor in the year since this Committee session was held last August - such as the reports of demonstrations and arrests at the time of the Pope's visit in October, reports of frequent pro-independence demonstrations by young people at the capital of Dili and reports of a new Indonesian offensive earlier this year - unmistakably give the impression that the East Timorese are as adamantly opposed to integration today as they were in 1975. This is not surprising. In this same one-year period we have seen one nation after another - in Eastern Europe, for instance - assert its right to independence after not 15 but closer to 50 years of subjugation by a powerful neighbour.

The Timorese should not have to wait 50 years. The Free East Timor Japan Coalition believes that countries like Japan, which have a substantial flow of both trade and aid to Indonesia, should use this leverage to encourage Indonesia to enter negotiations towards a settlement that guarantees the East Timorese the right of self-determination.

Only five or six years ago it was rare for the Japanese Government to be challenged on its official development assistance policies. This is not so today. There is growing public opinion in Japan demanding accountability in terms of human rights in the recipient countries for the enormous funds that flow from Japan to Governments like that of President Suharto.

In closing, I should like to thank the Committee for hearing this submission and humbly to urge it to use every means at its disposal to speed up the process of self-determination for the people of East Timor. The liberation of colonial peoples and the establishment of the United Nations are two of the major achievements of the twentieth century. It would be a great tragedy, not only for the Timorese but for the whole world, if the United Nations were unable to fulfil,

(Ms. Inglis)

before the next century dawns, its mission of facilitating the achievement of independence for the people of East Timor.

Ms. Inglis withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Ms. Yasuko Takemura, member of the House of Councillors of the Japanese Diet and of the Diet Members Forum on East Timor in Japan, took a place at the petitioners' table.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on Ms. Takemura.

Ms. TAKEMURA: I am Yasuko Takemura, a member of the House of Councillors of the Japanese Diet. I express my gratitude to the Committee for giving me this opportunity to make a statement today on behalf of 87 members of the all-party Diet Members Forum on East Timor in Japan.

"Environment, Peace and Human Rights" has been the theme of my political career, and I have made it my duty to listen to the voices of the weak and to make them heard in the Diet.

On 29 March of this year I took up the issue of East Timor in the Diet's Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs. Regarding Japan's position on East Timor, a Foreign Ministry official stated that the Government was observing the negotiations mediated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. As the Committee may know, the Japanese Government still has not recognized the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia.

I further posed the question whether the world map hanging in the room of the Director of the Asian Affairs Bureau contained any line dividing East Timor from Indonesia. The answer then was it did not. But since then the Foreign Ministry has corrected this mistake, and now all the maps and globes in the Ministry have a line showing East Timor as distinct from Indonesia. In other words, the Japanese Government accepted what our Diet Members Forum has repeatedly claimed regarding

(Ms. Takemura)

East Timor's territorial integrity, and it has shown a more serious and sincere attitude.

The resolution adopted last year by the Sub-Commission of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights clearly states that the East Timorese people are one of the parties concerned whose co-operation is needed in order to achieve a durable solution. The Diet Members Forum highly appreciates all the mediation efforts made by the Secretary-General. However, we believe, as we have repeatedly expressed in past sessions of this Committee, that representatives of the people of East Timor should be included in the negotiations, since they are the primary party involved.

Close observation of the present situation in East Timor does not lead us to conclude that there have been any improvements there. We continually receive reports on oppression and violence inflicted upon the East Timorese by the occupying forces, such as arrests and torture of pro-independence demonstrators after the Pope's visit to the Territory in October of last year, or the cruel beating of young people who peacefully petitioned Mr. Monjo, the United States Ambassador to Indonesia, in January of this year. The latter incident was reported in a Japanese monthly magazine with nation-wide circulation, and the report was accompanied by a photo taken by an Australian tourist. We were very shocked by the violence against the young people.

(Ms. Takemura)

These facts indicate that pro-independence actions by the East Timorese will increase in the future. Therefore we believe that the United Nations should make the utmost effort speedily to ensure that these voices calling for self-determination are reflected in negotiations towards a settlement.

I am also deeply concerned, as a woman, about the family-planning programme being forcibly carried out in East Timor. I am fully aware of the importance of family planning in general to adjust the Earth's ever-growing population. The implementation of such a programme, however, should be based on the spontaneous will of women who accept a part in it and their rights should be fully guaranteed.

In East Timor the family-planning programme is forcibly carried out, in spite of the fact that one third of the population there have died under the Indonesian occupation. Here we would draw attention to the fact that in comparison with regions in Indonesia, the use of depo-provera, a contraceptive whose side effects are still a matter of controversy, is very high in East Timor.

Timorese women are deeply afraid that the Indonesian family-planning programme is a form of genocide. It was against this background that we received a disturbing report last year to the effect that high-school girls had been injected with a contraceptive which had been described to them as a vaccination to prevent neonatal tetanus. If these allegations are true, is this not genocide against life yet to be born? I am deeply concerned at the idea that this artificial and dangerous family-planning programme has been gradually infesting the bodies of young Timorese women.

Japan occupied East Timor for three and a half years during the Second World War, and now Japan has become the largest financial sponsor of the present occupier, Indonesia. We, 87 members of the Diet Members Forum on East Timor,

(Ms. Takemura)

together with citizens who are involved in this issue at the grass-roots level, deeply regret our invasion in the past. As we look upon the suffering of the people of East Timor today, we are determined that the same sin should not be repeated.

Today, 9 August, is the date when an atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki 45 years ago. It is a day when the whole of Japan prays for peace. I am usually in Japan on this day, concentrating my efforts on this nation-wide prayer for peace. But this year, knowing that at this very moment Indonesia is repeating exactly the same sin as we committed in the past, I felt compelled to come here to make a statement to the Committee.

Let me conclude by expressing the hope that the United Nations will seize this moment to take a bold, new initiative for peace in East Timor.

Ms. Takemura withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Ray Funk (Canadian Parliamentarians for East Timor) took a place at the petitioners' table.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on Mr. Funk.

Mr. FUNK: It is a great honour to be given this opportunity to address the Special Committee on behalf of the Canadian Parliamentarians for East Timor.

Traditionally, diplomacy and the development of international policy have been left to an elite group of politicians and bureaucrats. However, the expansion of communications and transportation, of world trade and economic interdependence, has expanded the scope of the individual Member of Parliament.

These same technological developments now enable ordinary citizens and the media to see for themselves the situation in other countries and to formulate opinions independent of those of their Government's foreign-affairs apparatus. As a result, human-rights organizations and other non-governmental bodies are playing an increasingly significant role in international affairs.

(Mr. Funk)

Since the invasion and occupation of East Timor by Indonesia on 7 December 1975 there have been reports of oppression and the abuse of human rights on an unimaginable scale. Regrettably, many other countries have been guilty of human-rights abuses. But the sheer scale of the force with which Indonesia has tried to pacify the inhabitants of East Timor stands out. Up to 200,000 of the 700,000 East Timorese are said to have died since the 1975 conquest and subsequent occupation.

We here today have all heard the reports of murder, torture, forced relocation, the restriction of movement and detention without trial. The cultural and economic oppression aimed at obliterating the lifestyles of the indigenous peoples of East Timor have been well documented. Indeed, despite the efforts of the Indonesian Government to build a wall around the evidence of its violent occupation, reputable groups and agencies continue to document a clear picture of a people being subjugated against its will.

Why, then, have members of the world community, especially the Governments and the news media of the Western democracies, remained so silent for so long in the face of such injustice? The Indonesian Government claims that the people of East Timor have expressed a wish to be incorporated as part of Indonesia. If this were even remotely true, it surely would not have been necessary for the Indonesian military to resort to such violence.

If the world community ever required any proof that the people of East Timor still desire the chance to determine their own destiny, it may be found in their continued armed and unarmed resistance, which requires such an extensive armed occupation by Indonesia even after 15 years.

The 1960 General Assembly resolution on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples is clear, both in its spirit and in its intent. The

(Mr. Funk)

conditions and the process for decolonization in former possessions are detailed. Yet Indonesia, as a Member of the United Nations, has violated the Declaration in almost every way possible.

The people of East Timor have been denied their right to self-determination as commonly understood and accepted by the nations of the world. Therefore the continued occupation of East Timor is morally and legally illegitimate by those standards.

The question then remains why so many countries, including Canada, have remained silent on this issue to the point where they must be considered guilty of complicity in the oppression of the East Timorese people.

First, despite the scale of the tragedy there, too few people in the world are aware of what has happened and is now going on in East Timor. The curtain of silence and the passage of time have been effective in diverting mass attention from this issue, even in this so-called information age.

Secondly, without the pressure generated by humanitarian concerns and the role of international law, it has been all too easy for economic and geopolitical considerations to take precedence over the human and political rights, and even the lives, of the East Timorese.

(Mr. Funk)

Certainly the record of Canada in this regard has been very disappointing. My country has voted in the General Assembly against resolutions that affirm the right of self-determination for East Timor. It has also actively campaigned to have the issue of human-rights violations removed from the agenda of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights - this from a country that prides itself on its active participation in the United Nations and its strong affirmation of human rights throughout the globe.

In its tacit acceptance of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, the Canadian Government has attempted to preserve its good relations with the Indonesian Government. It is no coincidence that Canada is the third largest foreign investor in and a major trading partner of that country.

In general, Western Governments have been only too happy to sell arms to the Government of Indonesia and to lend it money. There can be little doubt that those funds and those weapons have helped Indonesia to maintain the military occupation of East Timor.

Therefore this Committee has an important role to play, not only in dealing with the parties directly involved but also in reminding those countries which have silently acquiesced in the occupation that if cynical geopolitics are allowed to take precedence when it is convenient, the result is the undermining of the whole United Nations system and all it stands for. If one may be permitted to say so in this body, I would add that it is somewhat ironic to note the absolute condemnation of a powerful nation's occupation of its vulnerable neighbour that we have seen in recent days with respect to events in the Middle East.

In a slightly different context I would argue that this Committee's resolution of the issue before us has important consequences for indigenous peoples around the world.

(Mr. Funk)

A large number of my own constituents are aboriginal Canadians - Indian and indigenous people - and I can see some constructive parallels between their situation and that of the Timorese. The attitude that the lives of indigenous peoples are less valid than those of more technologically advanced peoples - an attitude we see so clearly in East Timor - has also been evident in Canada and in other parts of the world.

The Canadian experience has clearly demonstrated that policies which attempt to impose a way of life on indigenous peoples, even when those policies are relatively humane and well-intentioned, are largely doomed if they do not involve the active understanding, consent and participation of the indigenous peoples themselves. The result is generations of frustration and social and economic disintegration which destroy even the best of goals envisioned by those policies.

I know that many Canadians are also beginning to realize that our colonial relationship with the first peoples of Canada has been expressed in the misuse and degradation of the land. We in the industrial world have much to learn from the remaining tribal peoples of the world about living in a sustainable relationship with our planet. We may not be able to survive if we are not able to do that.

The reaffirmation of the rights of the East Timorese is an important step in recognizing the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples all over the world to significant control over their own affairs. The world will have to recognize that we can no longer displace or eliminate tribal peoples merely to get access to their resources.

In the last few years people all over the world have expressed their desire for freedom and self-determination. We have seen opportunities for change in Eastern Europe, Asia and South Africa. Yet the continuing shame of East Timor reminds us how far we have yet to go.

(Mr. Funk)

There have been recent press reports that the Indonesian military have begun another campaign of repression and killing aimed at intimidating the Timorese people before the proposed visit of a group of Portuguese parliamentarians this fall.

This being the case, I and my fellow Canadian members of Parliamentarians for East Timor believe that it time for the United Nations to carry out with all possible speed its mandate as expressed in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

A minimum programme of action that could lead to the objective of self-determination for East Timor might include the following:

First, the insistence that Indonesia grant full, absolute and unconditional access to both official and non-government human rights and humanitarian groups wishing to make independent evaluations of the history and current status of the Indonesian presence in East Timor. This is in fact an essential first element in any plan that might be successfully adopted.

Secondly, United Nations sponsorship of talks aimed at establishing a mechanism whereby the people of East Timor can freely express their will. These talks must include legitimate representatives of the people of East Timor themselves, as well as Indonesia and Portugal. The recent discussions under United Nations sponsorship with regard to determining the future of the Western Sahara might serve as a model for these discussions.

Thirdly, United Nations supervision of the decision-making process in East Timor to ensure that it is free, open and not subject to outside intimidation.

During the past year the members of the Canadian chapter of Parliamentarians for East Timor have worked hard to raise the issue of the occupation of East Timor in our Parliament, as I know our colleagues elsewhere have also done. We plan to pursue the issue with renewed vigour.

(Mr. Funk)

In closing, I should like to thank the Committee once again for the opportunity to make this presentation. I hope that its deliberations will be fruitful ones and that when it next meets to consider this question, concrete progress towards self-determination for East Timor will have taken place.

Mr. Funk withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Antonio Maria Pereira (Social Democratic Party, Special Committee for the Situation in East Timor of the Portuguese Parliament) took a place at the petitioners' table.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on Mr. Pereira.

Mr. PEREIRA (interpretation from French): I should like, first of all, to recall that it was just a week ago that the world was shaken by the news from the Gulf. In that region a non-democratic military Power had launched a military attack against a small country that did not have the means to defend itself. I am, of course, speaking of Iraq's act of aggression committed against Kuwait. And what was the reaction of everyone, of the United Nations, of the international community? It was one of indignation. There were protests from all sides. The Security Council was immediately seized of the matter; it condemned Iraq and ordered it to withdraw its troops from Kuwait immediately.

What happened just now in the Middle East is an exact carbon copy of what heppened 15 years ago in East Timor. Then as now a non-democratic military Power attacked a country in the process of achieving independence, just as Iraq attacked Kuwait, and the real motivation was the same: oil. The similarity does not end there. The explanation given in justification by Indonesia at the time was exactly the same as that given today by Iraq with respect to Kuwait. What was the explanation given? It was that some brothers in that small region brothers had staged a coup d'état and called for help, and so armies had to go there to assist

(Mr. Pereira)

their brothers, who, they felt, were in danger and needed assistance. The situations are exactly the same, as I said; and what is more, to show that they are, 15 years ago the Security Council was immediately seized of the issue and adopted resolution 384 (1975), which condemned Indonesia in exactly the same terms as it has condemned Iraq now. Furthermore, 15 years ago the Security Council unanimously ordered Indonesia to withdraw its troops from Timor, just as now it has unanimously called on Iraq to withdraw its troops from Kuwait. As can be seen, the situations are identical, and since that is the case, are there legal, moral or ethical reasons for them not to receive the same treatment? How can there be any justification in international law or ethics for some countries to look almost benevolently on the aggression that took place 15 years ago while in the present case they are shaking their fists and crying out in indignation over what has just happened in the Middle East?

(Mr. Pereira)

We do not have two systems of international law, one valid for some countries and the other valid for other countries. There is but one international law and one international code of ethics. How can we legitimately condemn Iraq for its act of aggression against Kuwait without condemning another country in the same terms for an exactly similar act of aggression?

There are limits to realpolitik, and those limits are set by international law, the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

If the international community and the United Nations do not treat similar situations equally, one cannot be surprised if in the future other dictators, knowing they may enjoy treatment A instead of treatment B, also indulge in adventurism. There must be at least a minimum of consistency, and this requires that Indonesia should be condemned.

Let me recall that the Security Council's two resolutions are still in force - Security Council resolutions do not lapse - and they have been confirmed on several occasions by the General Assembly in its deliberations. So why should there be one kind of treatment in one case and another kind in another case?

I should also recall that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, had as its raison d'être the need felt by the whole civilized world to put an end once and for all to genocide, massacres, violations of human rights, summary executions and the like. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was promulgated precisely to give people a catalogue of these fundamental principles that would be applicable to everyone. Accordingly, that Declaration represents an international responsibility. No country is free to do whatever it pleases in its territory or in a territory that it annexes because that responsibility is an international one. Because the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been promulgated, we have witnessed throughout the world a great evolution - or perhaps I should say

(Mr. Pereira)

"revolution" - in the movement towards democracy and respect for human rights. And I am proud to note that in Europe that evolution or revolution towards democracy began in Portugal with the 1974 Portuguese Revolution. Then came the revolution in Greece, overthrowing the colonels, and two years later the disappearance of dictatorship in Spain. Western Europe thus became a democratic Europe in which human rights were respected. But the movement continued; it spread to South and Central America - Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Peru and, recently, Nicaragua. Everywhere in Central and South America democracy, that is, respect for human rights, has continued to spread. It has also moved to Asia: Pakistan, South Korea, the Philippines and, recently, Mongolia have become democratic.

Then came perestroika, which made possible the general acceptance throughout Europe and beyond of the great principles of democracy and respect for human rights. People have realized a truth proclaimed by Andrei Sakharov, namely, that peace is inseparably linked to human rights. There will never be real co-operation among nations unless there is respect for human rights.

Even in Africa, human rights and democracy have made progress. In Senegal, in Zimbabwe, in Namibia, in South Africa, in the Portuguese-speaking countries as well - everywhere, democracy is spreading. Apartheid is now in a process that will lead to its end. This is happening everywhere throughout the world. So why is Indonesia still impervious to this great movement? Why are violations of human rights still being committed by Indonesian troops in East Timor, as has been amply proved by all the petitioners who have come here? They have made impressive statements, and I think everyone was deeply moved. Agencies that are above suspicion, such as Amnesty International, Asia Watch and Pax Christi, and indeed everyone here, has confirmed that violations of human rights and summary executions - all the things that happened in the distant past, that were common in

(Mr. Pereira)

Europe under Hitler - are being repeated now in Timor. The genocide that killed 200,000 people is one of the worst in this century, comparable to those under Hitler and Stalin. All this is still going on, and yet we go on peacefully about our business here; we met here two years ago and one year ago, and the genocide continues. We must put a stop to it. There is no reason for Indonesia to go on ignoring the resolutions of the Security Council, the deliberations of the General Assembly, the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations.

Before concluding, I should like to point out one thing: that the only way to put a halt to this situation, which is intolerable not only in itself but also in the context of everything that is taking place in the world today, advancing towards democracy and human rights, can be ended only if Indonesia agrees to allow the people of East Timor to express its will freely. As Bishop Ximenes Belo of Dili said, Indonesia must agree to a referendum because it is impossible to accept the premise that the people of East Timor asked for integration into Indonesia.

I think it was Chesterton who said that some propositions are too absurd to criticize. For example, five or six years ago in South Africa Mr. Botha's Government claimed that there was a plot against South Africa and that apartheid no longer existed. Was that claim worth discussing? It was so ridiculous that it was pointless to consider it even as an academic question. I recall what Professor Archer said here. I agreed completely with his statement except on this point, because he presented the problem in more or less academic terms. There are two versions: there is the Indonesian version, to the effect that the Timorese asked for help and want to be integrated with the Indonesian State, and there is the other version, affirming that the Timorese want to be independent. But we cannot formulate the question in these terms. We can discuss many subjects in academic terms, but not such a subject as this.

(Mr. Pereira)

If Indonesia wished in good faith to resolve the issue, it could do so very simply by holding a referendum in the Territory. But it does not want to do so, because it knows perfectly well that it would lose. For the struggle of the Timorese has now gone on for 15 years.

The Timorese nation has nothing to do with the Indonesian nation against which it has been fighting for so long and so ardently. How can anyone possibly maintain that the Timorese want to be a part of the great Indonesian nation?

The Special Committee, which has throughout history developed such an important role in the decolonization process, and which presided over Namibia's recent accession to independence, must take account of these realities. It must recommend once and for all, at all levels, that Indonesia should accept a referendum on Timor and should immediately halt its continued intolerable violations of human rights.

The declaration by Indonesia's Minister of Defence that "we will crush them all" is intolerable. There is no reply to it. The only possible response for the international community and the United Nations - if I may repeat myself - would be to condemn Indonesia's aggression in East Timor and to adopt immediately the same attitude as they did in the case of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

Mr. Pereira withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Raul Fernando Souselo de Brito (Socialist Party, Special Committee for the Situation in East Timor of the Portuguese Parliament) took a place at the petitioners' table.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mr. Brito.

Mr. BRITO: (interpretation from French): In 1960 East Timor was considered a Non-Self-Governing Territory by the General Assembly. The Security Council took a similar decision in 1963.

(Mr. Brito)

After the change of political régime in Portugal, brought about by the revolution of 25 April 1974, the Portuguese Government declared its agreement with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), considering all of its colonies, including East Timor, to be Non-Self-Governing Territories under Article 73 of the United Nations Charter.

By mid-1975, the Portuguese State officially began the process of decolonization of the Territory of East Timor. It is important to recall that on 30 November 1975 a joint communiqué of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Portugal and Indonesia stressed the need for self-determination in the Territory of East Timor. Thus, there could be no doubt that at that time East Timor was a Non-Self-Governing Territory and that in this context its population had the right to the exercise of self-determination. However, on 7 December 1975, the armed forces of Indonesia invaded the Territory of East Timor, thus suspending the ongoing process of decolonization.

The General Assembly and the Security Council condemned the invasion, called for the withdrawal of the invaders and reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Timor to self-determination and independence.

However, the Jakarta régime already had other ideas and intentions regarding the Territory. The knowledge that there were oil wells lying under ground and off-shore in the East Timor Sea, together with Indonesia's explosive population growth, stirred on the one hand the covetousness and on the other hand the imperialist and colonialist ambitions of he Suharto régime. But these ambitions had already been displayed in 1963 with the foiled attempt to annex Malaysia and later, in 1969, with the annexation of Western Papua New Guinea.

Indonesia, which had once been a colony of the Netherlands and had recently been an anti-colonialist country, began to act like a real colonial Power under the

(Mr. Brito)

presidency of Suharto. In mid-July 1975, an attempt was made first by the Parliament of Indonesia and then by the dictator Suharto to justify themselves in the face of world opinion and the accusations of neo-colonialism by announcing the integration of the Territory into Indonesia.

I would remind the Committee that it was invited to participate in the meeting called the "Regional Popular Assembly", which resulted in requests calling for the integration of the Territory of East Timor into Indonesia. I would further remind the Committee that its members replied:

> "The Committee had in no way participated in the process leading to the announced meeting of the Regional Popular Assembly ... and that it was not in a position to send a mission to East Timor."

But could the Committee have taken any other decision? Of course not.

The designation process was not submitted to any kind of international monitoring. The entire process was monitored and controlled exclusively by the occupying Power. It was a fraud.

The General Assembly therefore rejected that sham act of integration and reaffirmed the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and also declared legitimate the use of force by the people of Timor to achieve that right. Consequently there were no doubts that the attempt to legitimize the annexation did not merit recognition by the United Nations because it was based on acts that were not representative.

East Timor continues to be a Non-Self-Governing Territory until the international community offers it conditions that will enable its population to exercise its right to self-determination. In the view of the Portuguese people, guaranteeing that right is a priority.

(Mr. Brito)

The time has come for the international community to say "enough is enough". We cannot allow the the passage of time to replace an act of self-determination. The present situation is intolerable from the humanitarian, moral and juridical point of view. What is at stake is not only the destiny or the survival of one people; at stake are the values and principles which make up a priceless heritage of mankind, values and principles largely responsible for this period of relative peace and development in the world.

If it has always been believed that the denial of the right to self-determination generally leads to the violation of other human rights, then the case of East Timor is a perfect example.

Contrary to the assertions made by officials of the Indonesian information and propaganda services in an attempt to convince political, diplomatic and humanitarian circles, the violence practised by Indonesia throughout the past 15 years of occupation in East Timor is not a fiction created by the opponents of the dictorial Indonesian régime. Impeccable sources of information, such as Amnesty International, confirm the genocidal killing of approximately one third of the population of the Territory - 200,000 people - during and immediately after the period of the invasion alone.

(Mr. Brito)

One cannot believe that the present situation is very different. Despite Indonesia's efforts to hide or to put a gentler face on the violence which it inflicts on the population, recent competent testimony confirms that there is not the least respect for human dignity in East Timor. Torture, summary executions, disappearances, arbitrary arrests and violation of privacy are some of the situations described in the United States State Department's Country Report on Human Rights for the year 1989. Similar violations are confirmed by Amnesty International in its annual report for 1990.

The events which occurred during the visit of His Holiness Pope John Paul II to the Territory of East Timor, the repression of the young people of Timor, which was seen during the visit to Dili of John Monjo, United States Ambassador to Jakarta, the information given by the outgoing Anglican Bishop of New York, Paul Moore, Jr., which he had obtained during his visit to East Timor last December, together with the constant denunciations made by Monsignor Ximenes Belo, Apostolic Administrator of Dili, on the violations of human rights by the military and security forces of Indonesia are more than adequate justification for the international community to react and demand that Indonesia should respect the law, justice and dignity of the human person in East Timor.

For our own part, we shall spare no effort to achieve a just and global solution of the question at the international level. The Government of my country is holding talks with Indonesia, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, and the Portuguese Parliament has agreed to visit the Territory of East Timor "in order to obtain first-hand information on the situation", provided that certain positions of principle, which Portugal, as the administering Power of the Territory does not relinquish, are satisfied.

(Mr. Brito)

No one can accuse my country of bad faith, of trying to drag out negotiations, or prejudicing through its attitudes and conduct the mandate given to the Secretary-General by the General Assembly. The same cannot be said for Indonesia. That country has, in fact, always taken positions unfavourable to the ongoing dialogue, and its unfriendly actions are aimed solely at prolonging or thwarting the negotiations in the hope that time will silence the voice of the resistance and replace the act of self-determination.

The difficulties encountered in arranging a visit by a Portuguese parliamentary delegation to East Timor, the signing of a contract with Australia for off-shore exploration near Timor, the military offensive that seeks to annihilate the armed resistance of Timor and the wave of repression and massacres perpetrated while negotiations are under way under the auspices of the Secretary-General are proof of the bad faith of the Indonesian Government.

The Portuguese people thank the Secretary-General for his recent efforts aimed at finding a just solution to the problem of East Timor. The Portuguese people is also very grateful to the Committee for having followed the events which have occurred in the Territory and for helping the Secretary-General to implement General Assembly resolution 37/30. In addition, the Portuguese people thank all the countries which, in the General Assembly or at other levels, have displayed their solidarity regarding the problem of the people of East Timor and which are working to find a just and lasting solution for East Timor, one which respects Timorese human rights and the principles of self-determination and independence.

Our awareness of the sacrifices imposed on the people of Timor as a result of the present situation leads us to call urgently for the creation of conditions that can bring peace to East Timor.

(Mr. Brito)

I endorse the appeal of Monsignor Ximenes Belo to the Secretary-General in February 1989:

... "I ask you ... to initiate in Timor a more normal and democratic process of decolonization that is achieved by means of a referendum."

Last, in view of the fact that General Assembly resolution 37/30 provides for the participation of all the parties in the search for a solution to the conflict, I request the Committee urgently to seek institutional procedures that will enable the representatives of East Timor to participate in the current negotiations.

Mr. Brito withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Rui Jose Santos Silva (Democratic Renovation Party, Special Committee for the Situation in East Timor of the Portuguese Parliament), took a place at the petitioners' table.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on Mr. Silva.

Mr. SILVA: Sixteen years after Portugal's return to democracy, the aims of the military movements which granted freedom to the Portuguese people still have not been entirely fulfilled. After the decolonization of all the Territories formerly under Portuguese administration, a stain has clouded the entire process.

Today the Portuguese-speaking African countries can express themselves freely: they are autonomous and their peoples decide their own destinies. It was a process launched on 25 April, when a newly reborn democratic Portugal opened its doors to the world and, in a democratic gesture unequalled in the history of mankind, supported nationally and internationally the independence of all the Territories under its administration. Timor alone remains silenced in respect of a right to which all peoples are entitled, that of choosing their future in total freedom, maintaining their history and deciding on their identity.

(Mr. Silva)

In 1975, the people of Timor were silenced, and although their clamour was loud, the invaders' gunfire muffled it. Their legitimate rights were violated, their lives taken and their future curtailed.

Allow me, Sir, to tell you and the members of the Committee a little about my experience during two years in that land: Timor is a small Territory of approximately 19,000 square kilometres and a population in 1974 of roughly 600,000, one third of whom are believed to have been killed after the occupation in 1975 by Indonesian troops, who are thus responsible for one of the most extensive genocides of contemporary history.

I arrived in Timor in 1973. On coming ashore at the port of Dili, I was fascinated by the magnificence of its wild and luxuriant landscape, as have all those who have had the opportunity to visit that land.

(Mr. Silva)

The Timorese, a courteous and friendly people, welcomed us with open arms. We had a history in common, sharing the same ideals and religion and speaking the same language.

My mission led me to Aileu, a small village north of Dili. A few days after my arrival I was already part of that large family in which we were all brothers holding hands and sharing the same ideal of happiness that could be felt in every home. The Timorese, eager to help, were tireless in their efforts to make everyone, even newcomers, feel at home soon after their arrival. They easily succeeded; their kindness was quickly returned, and a general feeling of well-being pervaded the small Territory.

It was in that climate of fraternity and freedom that all of us who lived in Timor learned to love that people. In complete safety and without difficulties of any sort, I travelled through the entire Territory during those two years. I was a teacher; I was a doctor and a nurse; I did a little of everything. I taught some, but I learned from all.

I learned the meaning of wanting to live in accordance with one's history, which had already been victimized. I learned that for human beings - at least those human beings - material goods are not the most important factors in a reason for living. I learned that love of one's country and respect for one's flag are not empty words but rather are strong reasons for survival. I learned that history, religion and culture are factors of emotional stability and healthy development. I learned also that the people of East Timor have their own identity, which they eagerly wish to maintain; this is a constant concern of a free people with its own culture, history and religion, which no oppressor will be able to destroy, no matter how invidious the methods it uses.

(Mr. Silva)

It was to this people that I said goodbye towards the end of 1974, promising to return and hoping to be able to help them. However, in 1975, for the second time in this century, the Timorese saw their future and their destiny abruptly and violently ravished. On 7 December of that year, Indonesian troops, ignoring the most elementary human rights, invaded the Territory, destroyed thousands of homes, carried out horrendous genocide and, imposed their will by force of arms, riding roughshod over human beings - young and old, men, women and children - who claimed only justice and peace.

Today the liberation movements in East Timor are composed mostly of young men and women who 15 years ago, as children, lived through moments of anguish and who grew up in a climate of violence, repression and the violation of their rights. Today there is generalized dissent. The people of Timor refuse to give up their identity. They want to be free, which is their right. And it is the duty of the international community to safeguard that objective.

The situation prevailing in East Timor since 1975 involves the systematic violation of the fundamental rights to which all the peoples of the world are entitled in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Following the military invasion and annexation of the Territory by Indonesian troops, a third of the population fell victim to selective and organized genocide. The most fundamental rights were violated through torture, beatings and summary executions. All rights of independence and self-determination were denied, as were the history and future of a people that should have the right freely to choose and live its destiny.

Those actions have left the people of Timor clinging to survival, virtually deprived of human dignity and the right to live. And such actions are still being perpetrated to this day.

(Mr. Silva)

The testimony of refugees recently arrived in Portugal describes scenes of torture, fatal beatings and mysterious disappearances. Freedom of speech and assembly is denied. The Timorese may not travel within their own territory, and if anyone dares to do so, he is taken prisoner, interrogated and tortured. And all this is happening in the twentieth century - on the eve of the twenty-first - when countries all over the world are joining forces to fight dictatorships and defend populations from repression, violence and oppression and when the United Nations and the Council of Europe have approved for ratification by all their member countries measures intended to put an end to torture, ill-treatment and other violations of human rights.

We, the petitioners, Members of the Portuguese Parliament and of the Commission in Charge of Examining the Situation in East Timor, know that we may not claim and demand fundamental rights for other peoples if we are not prepared to denounce the flagrant violations currently being perpetrated in the Territory of East Timor. And that is why we are here to raise our voices.

In accordance with international law, it is the right of the people of Timor to decide their own future and to exercise se'f-determination and independence. No State may negotiate that right or replace the people of Timor in its exercise.

The problem of East Timor, involving serious violations of international law in respect of the right to self-determination of a Non-Self-Governing Territory and its occupation by a foreign Power, is a concern of the whole community and not merely a bilateral problem between Portugal - the administering Power as recognized by the United Nations - and Indonesia, the aggressor and the occupying Power. It is therefore the duty of the entire world community, not just of Portugal, to ensure compliance with international law, principally with the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is in particular

(Mr. Silva)

the duty of the United Nations to ensure compliance with General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on this matter.

Portugal will continue to shoulder its responsibility under international law and the provisions of the Portuguese Fundamental Law, which in its article 293 refers to the promotion and safeguarding of East Timor's right to self-determination and independence. Portugal does not wish to reoccupy the Territory but wants only to allow the people of Timor freely to express their wishes and their will to decide on their future in liberty, a decision which is currently denied them by the Indonesian Government's oppressive refusal.

In the light of its historical and cultural responsibility, Portugal is the natural advocate of the case of East Timor. However, what is at issue is not so much legal values, but chiefly natural values, the rights of a people that claims justice and liberty. These are universal values stated in the Charter of the United Nations, which should be considered the birthright of all humanity.

Portugal believes, and I believe, that those values will continue to guide the efforts of the United Nations and its Secretary-General to ensure that the people of Timor will at last regain their freedom and their legitimate rights.

Mr. Silva withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Luis Paulo (Comission for the Rights of the Maubere People) took a place at the petitioners' table.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on Mr. Paulo.

Mr. PAULO: First of all, I should like to pay my respects to this Committee and its members. The Committee has so often and so relevantly served the cause of the emancipation of peoples which had been subject to colonialism. Secondly, I should like to thank the Committee for this opportunity to say some words in favour of a small but heroic people.

(Mr. Paulo)

The people of East Timor find themselves in this situation: In 1990, the year of the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, a much sadder anniversary is also being marked - the 15 years of colonial occupation of that Territory by Indonesia.

(Mr. Paulo)

The current year finds East Timor in the paradoxical situation of being the most populated of the 18 Territories still on the Committee's list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, which only reinforces the necessity and urgency of finding a solution to the problem.

In spite of Indonesia's distinguished past in the domain of anti-colonial struggle in the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s and in spite of its efforts to present itself as the liberator of the Timorese people from the colonial yoke of the Portuguese and as a disinterested benefactor, the truth is that the Indonesian presence in East Timor today has all the characteristic signs of the classic European standard of colonization as we know it from the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth: economic exploitation, political repression and military occupation.

Indonesian domination can be seen in practically every area of economic life on East Timor. The most lucrative local activities, such as coffee-growing, are controlled by a restricted number of companies normally linked to military interests. External trade too is practically monopolized, and the money invested in the country, channelled in part directly from aid and from external donations, ends up profiting a very small number of corrupt bureaucrats linked to civil construction and public-works companies. Even small businesses such as shops and restaurants are now practically all in the hands of Indonesians, as can be established from the reports of ordinary visitors or tourists. The complaints of the Timorese, including even the Gobernur, regarding discrimination in the filling of public positions by Indonesians, normally Javanese, even if they are less well qualified, are well known.

As is normal in cases of colonial domination, if the colonizers are well, the colonized are not. And the situation in East Timor is really critical. In a

(Mr. Paulo)

statement made on 15 August 1989 to the Jakarta Post, Mario Carrascalao, the Governor of the Territory, said that malaria was endemic and that supplies of medicine were "not always those that were necessary". Tuberculosis affected 70 per cent of the population of East Timor, according to him. He said, furthermore, that of the 61 administrative units of the Territory, only 40 had a doctor. In the entire Territory there are only 25 qualified midwives, and the number of paramedics is also very small. The level of illiteracy is near 92 per cent. The major part of the population lives below the poverty level, and unemployment is extremely high.

Another case of shameful economic colonial exploitation is found in the so-called Timor Gap Agreement between Indonesia and another neighbouring State with regard to the exploitation of the mineral resources of the Timor Sea, signed on 11 December 1989 in flagrant violation of international legislation on maritime law, which does not consider as valid frontiers drawn around Territories whose peoples have not exercised self-determination. Indonesia is preparing itself to take possession of part of those immense riches - the 170,000 square kilometres in question contain one of the planet's 25 largest deposits of petroleum and natural gas - without the consent of the legitimate owners, the Timorese. Timor petroleum alone would be sufficient to guarantee the Timorese an average per capita income four times that of the Indonesians for the next half-century.

As is normal in cases of colonialism, economic exploitation is accompanied by political repression. Innumerable truly shocking cases of human rights violations are recounted in reports by such reputable organizations as Amnesty International and Asia Watch. I shall, however, refer not to those documents but rather to excerpts from an analysis that a country which is allied to Indonesia, and which

(Mr. Paulo)

supports it on the Timor question, carried out on the situation in the Territory. I refer to the chapter on Indonesia of the "Country Reports on Human Rights" for 1990 of the United States Department of State. Under "General situation", the report states that

> "Frequent military operations took place in East Timor .... Despite progress in some areas, including greater freedom of movement ... serious human rights problems remained. These included ... periodic detentions of East Timorese suspected of FRETILIN sympathies, [and] killing of civilians in East Timor ...".

With respect to political and other extrajudicial killing, the report states that

> "An estimated two dozen or more civilians were killed by the military in East Timor in 1989".

On disappearances, the report states that

> "Temporary disappearance of persons held for interrogation by security forces occurred periodically ...".

On the question of torture, the report notes that

> "Several students detained in the wake of the Pope's visit to East Timor in October were reportedly beaten ... East Timorese Bishop Belo and others alleged mistreatment and torture by security forces in East Timor of persons detained on suspicion of aiding or sympathizing with the FRETILIN guerrillas ...".

On arbitrary arrest, the report states that

> "Security forces in East Timor on several occasions detained persons for days or weeks on suspicion of subversive activity".

(Mr. Paulo)

And in connection with arbitrary interference with privacy, the report observes that

"forced or surreptitious entries by security agents reportedly occur regularly, especially in East Timor ... Correspondence is generally not monitored, although letter mail to and from East Timor may still be an exception".

In certain exceptional circumstances, a tourist or foreign journalist has the opportunity to be present in person at scenes of repression. That happened during the visit by Pope John Paul II on 12 October 1989. The words which follow were written by the journalist Francesc Valls, an eyewitness to the events in Taci-Tolu, in the reputable Spanish journal El Pais of 13 October 1989:

"It was a quarter to two (7 a.m. in Spain) when a group of 20 young people broke the security cordons and shouted, 'Long live the Pope'. The police - who were armed with enormous wooden batons - made them withdraw. The Pope looked towards the young people for a minute. Then he went to change his clothes, and it was then that the plain of Taci-Tolu ... was transformed into a battlefield. ... A second wave of demonstrators - several hundred - approached about 20 metres from the altar trying to display a banner on which, it appeared, was written in red letters on a blue background the following phrase: 'FRETILIN greets the Pope'. Then the most important incidents began. The police beat the demonstrators with their enormous batons and tried to isolate them in the lower part of the plain, far from the press. ...

"Meanwhile, the shouts for independence for East Timor grew louder. Security forces began from then on to act with increasing violence against journalists. They violently snatched the cameras from two of them, destroying the film. Demonstrators surrounded by a huge dusty cloud were defending

(Mr. Paulo)

themselves by throwing chairs and stones at the police. Thousands of people - it is calculated that about 80,000 people were present at the Mass - fled the fighting".

A similar occasion was when two Australian tourists, Jenny Groves and John Andrew McMillan, were present on 17 January in front of the Hotel Turismo in Dili, when a dialogue took place between United States Ambassador John Monjo, a visitor to the Territory, and a delegation of 100 or 200 young Timorese students. After the departure of the United States ambassador, the military and riot police brutally attacked the defenceless young people with batons and gun-butts. Dozens of young people were injured, some critically and even fatally; they were later treated by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

(Mr. Paulo)

Characteristically, the first paragraph of the letter that the young people handed at that time to the American ambassador read as follows:

"Dear Mr. Ambassador, Honourable: we would like to ask you to be our intermediary to your government, the Senate and the Congress of the American people for the liberation of our country from the Javanese colonialism".

The guerrilla fight being waged by FALINTIL in the mountains and villages of East Timor has all the appearances of those which were waged in the 1950s and 1960s in Africa by the nationalist movements against the European Powers. That is no accident. Actually, FALINTIL's struggle of today is a real anti-colonial struggle.

When the opposition to the brutal policy being carried out by Indonesia in the Territory is more intense than simple unarmed protests, the occupier does not hesitate to resort to the classic measures used by other colonial Powers: miscegenation, cultural assimilation, psycho-social war, strategic resettlement villages, internalization of the war among the indigenous population. All of this is old, everything is well known.

But if those modern counter-guerilla techniques fail, there always remains that great fall-back resort, the use of hordes of men and weaponry. Periodically, Indonesia has opted for that course in East Timor. At present, for instance, one of those operations has been taking place on a large scale since February or March. According to documents received from inside East Timor and reports made by Timorese refugees who arrived in Lisbon a few weeks ago, a large number of battalions of the Indonesian army - a force that may number up to 40,000 soldiers - supported by two helicopter squadrons and about 6,000 Timorese militia conscripts are involved in one more clean-up operations against the guerrillas. It will be recalled that the average deployment of Indonesian soldiers in East Timor - about 15,000 to 20,000 men - makes that Territory the most militarized zone on the

(Mr. Paulo)

planet. The number of soldiers per square kilometre is only slightly surpassed in the case of Israel.

The history of East Timor in these past 15 years has been a history of pain and heroism - the heroic resistance of the people against the Indonesian colonial yoke which has kept the juridical situation in the Territory the same as it was in the 1960s, when East Timor was included for the first time on the Special Committee's list of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

The Timorese today, as then, aspire to the power to decide their own future, freely and without constraint. They demand that the provisions of the United Nations Charter and successive resolutions, particularly General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), should be put into practice, and they demand to be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination.

The formula suggested in 1989 by the Bishop of Dili, Monsignor Belo, in a letter addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations regarding the holding of a referendum by direct, secret and universal voting under the supervision of the United Nations and the international community, would appear to meet all the conditions for being considered a balanced and serious proposal.

In conjunction with the prior steps which that proposal presupposes - the opening of the Territory without restriction to independent observers and international humanitarian organizations, a cease-fire, withdrawal of the invading army and the organization of a transitional administration - it is indeed the only draft of a solution with some appearance of plausibility.

It is the moral and historical duty of the Special Committee to hear, support and encourage those peoples that today, with the new millennium approaching, continue to suffer the unjust situation of cruel domination by another State. May

(Mr. Paulo)

the inspiration of those fighters who successfully passed before this body during the last decades help us definitively to root out that cancer of modern history still alive indeed in East Timor: colonialism.

Mr. Paulo withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Joao Carrascalao, Timorese Democratic Union, took a place at the petitioners' table.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on Mr. Carrascalao.

Mr. CARRASCALAO: Before commencing, I should like to introduce myself and the members of my delegation. My name is Joao Viegas Carrascalao. The Committee may be aware that I am the brother of the Governor of Timor. I am a member of the Central Committee of the Timorese Democratic Union and have been one since its formation in 1974. At the moment, I am the most senior representative of the Timorese Democratic Union in the free world. With me is Mr. De Oliveira, the Secretary General and also a member since 1974. Milena Pires is the Secretary for Media Relations, and Jose Antonio Viegas is the Secretary for Economy and Finance.

Both Mr. De Oliveira and I have actively participated in the political process of Timor since its beginning. In 1975, we were among a number of leaders of the Timorese Democratic Union who sought refuge in Indonesia. Since that date, we have been witness to the most despotic acts inflicted upon our people, ranging from simple physical torture to the most flagrant violations of basic human and political rights.

We were witness to the most inconceivable lies, with which Indonesia flooded the international scene in order to justify its unacceptable act of invasion and its attempts to annex our territory by force. We were witness to the ridiculous position in which Indonesia has placed itself in its quest to convince the

(Mr. Carrascalao)

international community that its unlawful intervention was solicited by the Timorese people.

At that stage, we questioned whether Indonesia was conscious of the gross violations it was committing in its quest by force of arms to quash our irrefutable right to determine our own destiny. Hypothesizing on the case, we find it incredible that Indonesia thought that it could undermine the reaction of the international community and of our own people.

The events that have unfolded are irrefutable proof that Indonesia was mistaken, although we never believed that coarse lies could ever pass unnoticed before the eyes of the leaders of the free world. Similarly, we never believed that our people would ever submit to Indonesia's forcible domination. After 15 years of a huge military presence and innumerable military operations, our people's armed resistance has not suffered the least wear. At the end of 15 years of an appalling and hideous oppression by blood and destruction of our spiritual, moral and material values by successive waves of soldiers and civilians, our people's opposition increases as it distinguishes itself from the invader.

(Mr. Carrascalao)

We have witnessed during the past year acts of bravery by Timorese who, with their own blood, have inscribed in the annals of history the justifiability of our struggle. I refer to the demonstration by our student masses. This is a generation that has been educated under Indonesian rule, and it has challenged the wrath of the invader with heroic acts showing the world its discontent with the present situation in its homeland. The cruel repression exercised by the police force against our youth who wished to demonstrate unequivocally to our Holy Father; during his visit to Timor, our people's unbreakable will is still fresh in our minds. We still have fresh memories of scenes, described by eyewitnesses, of horrific blows being inflicted on our students by the military and police forces during the visit made to Dili by His Excellency Ambassador John Monjo of the United States. What more beautiful example of nationalism could we cite than this action of our young people, who, with bare hands, armed solely with the force of reason, faced the odious military, armed with the most sophisticated armaments? What more beautiful example of nationalism could we cite than that of our students, who in the flower of youth and with their lives ahead of them, generous like youth the world over, have so transcended this generosity that they do not worry about spilling their own youthful blood in order that their homeland may also be free.

Their determination and resolution are the very symbols of our struggle. We can state without fear of misleading anyone that in Timor today the resistance is a reality that no army can silence, despite the sophisticated weaponry with which the Indonesians are equipped. The resistance in Timor is invincible because its bases are in the popular will, including all Timorese; it is manifested in the Government departments, in the population at large, in the streets and in the remotest points of the Territory.

(Mr. Carrascalao)

Jakarta is well aware of the situation. Jakarta knows how unfruitful have been its efforts to silence us. Jakarta knows that reason is on our side, and thus we hear anecdotal statements delivered by generals in scenes of clear hysteria, almost of madness, in which threats of extermination, destruction and genocide are voiced against all those who in any way express signs of nationalism. Jakarta knows that the resistance is a process of constant evolution, reflected in its people - a process that will terminate only when we are given the right to choose the path of our own destiny, thus restoring our dignity.

I have not the slightest doubt that the destiny chosen by our people is independence.

Indonesia has repeatedly trumpeted to the four winds that it has done more in a decade than Portugal did in four and a half centuries. Indonesia declares that the people of Timor rejoined their historical brothers by their own free will. What a peculiar family relationship this is on the part of a people that propounds brotherhood, but requires the constant military presence of 30,000 soldiers to impose its occupation; a people that propounds brotherhood and proffers a helping hand, but steals, pillages, violates, oppresses, imprisons and murders; a people that promotes brotherhood, but does not display the minimum respect for our moral and cultural identity and strives to impose upon us a language that we do not speak, customs that we do not know and habits that we do not accept; a people that does not tire of claiming that it has come to aid us and has brought riches beyond our imagination, but that in reality has impoverished us by signing with another plunderer a treaty for the exploration of our oil in a designated area, known as "Timor Gap".

(Mr. Carrascalao)

Yes, it is true: In 15 years Indonesia has done more, much more, than Portugal did in 450 years. In 15 years Indonesia has made sandalwood an extinct species in Timor. While the Portuguese promoted its regeneration, Indonesia has unearthed its roots. While the Portuguese co-owned a small percentage of the coffee plantations, Indonesia has confiscated all of them and retained the commercial monopoly of that product. While the Portuguese respected the Timorese society, its social structures and its traditional system of Government, its customs and traditions, Indonesia seeks to reduce the Timorese to the mere role of spectator at the process of the Javanization of our home. Finally, I cannot fail to mention that the Portuguese did not, during its 450 years, kill the tremendous number of 200,000 or more of my fellow countrymen exterminated by Indonesia in only 15 years. This statistic represents more than a third of the entire population of Timor.

I therefore leave it to the members of the Committee to decide what their attitude would be if 15 million Englishmen were killed, if 60 million Indonesians were exterminated, if 80 million Americans were made to disappear from the face of the earth. Would they demonstrate the same passive resignation that has been shown in regard to Timor?

If Indonesia has shown itself to be so magnanimous, let it at least do what Portugal did at the end of 450 years of colonization - that is, recognize the right to self-determination and independence of the people of Timor.

This year we have travelled to the United Nations to speak before the Special Committee, the distinguished representatives of sovereign nations that developed from situations identical to ours: the tragic situation of a martyred people. We are speaking to the Committee in an era in which the impossible of yesterday has become the reality of today. We are doing so in an era in which Namibia, after

(Mr. Carrascalao)

long years of armed and diplomatic struggle, and with the support of the international community, has finally won its independence; an era in which the countries of the Eastern bloc have undergone transformations dictated by the will of their peoples; an era in which the revered Nelson Mandela has finally severed the chains of imprisonment that had restrained him during decades of extensive transformation within the African continent, leaving him free to tell the world of the injustice, segregation and oppression to which the minority régime in Pretoria subjects its people. We are doing so in an era in which we see the overthrow of despotic régimes all over the world, in an era in which the world is united in its condemnation of the recent invasion and occupation of Kuwait by Iraqi armed forces. And we do so essentially because we believe that you who honourably display the symbols of your homeland will help us, so that we may also show our flag as a flag of a free and sovereign country.

Mr. Carrascalao withdrew.

The CHAIRMAN: We have concluded the hearings on the item.

On behalf of the Committee, and on my own behalf, I wish to express the Committee's appreciation to the petitioners for their statements and the information they have furnished to the Committee. Are there any comments?

Mr. SHEIKH ZEINELDDIN (Islamic Republic of Iran): I should like to remind the petitioners who today spoke of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and its annexation by Iraq of the following point.

The historical background is that the formal name of the water lying between the Arabian Peninsula and the Islamic Republic of Iran is "Persian Gulf". Moreover, document ST/CS/SER.A/29 of 10 January 1990, the Secretariat has been requested to used the term "Persian Gulf" for that region. I should appreciate it if petitioners would take note of this fact.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Cape Verde.

Mr. JESUS (Cape Verde): On behalf of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and my own country, I wish to make the following statement on the question of East Timor.

The progress made in the decolonization process is perhaps the most important achievement of the United Nations in its half-century effort to correct unjust relationships and to bring about a more harmonious and just world. The role played by this Committee has been fundamental in that effort by the United Nations to secure the continued success of decolonization. Those of us that were subject to colonial rule in the past deeply appreciate the Committee's historic contribution in this regard, and we praise highly its unwavering commitment to help bring decolonization to a successful end.

For those that are still under colonial occupation or domination, this Committee is a beacon of hope and a guarantee that their legitimate and inalienable rights will be duly considered in accordance with United Nations principles, rules

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

and practice on decolonization. East Timor is one such Territory, whose people have not yet had the opportunity to exercise, freely and without constraint of any sort, their right to self-determination.

The debate that has taken place over the years in the Committee, in the General Assembly and in other forums has made it clear that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) still remains to be implemented in the case of East Timor.

The countries on whose behalf I am speaking today have consistently and unequivocally supported the right of East Timor to self-determination, and on many occasions they have clearly stated their outright and firm rejection of the occupation of that Territory by Indonesia. We do so not only because of the historical, cultural and linguistic ties that link us with East Timor and its people, though certainly those ties are very close to our hearts and constitute an important factor that over the years, and, indeed the centuries, has helped to cement our closeness and the special friendship that exists between our countries and East Timor.

Rather, our position is based essentially upon the necessity to respect the right to self-determination of all colonial countries and peoples, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and developed further in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). It was under the umbrella of that right and principle of self-determination, whose virtues have been cherished by all of us for decades, that our countries, along with many others, including Indonesia, were able in the darker days of colonialism to make their case and to rally diplomatic support that eventually led to the independence of many of us. It would therefore be an irony of history today if we were to deny the East Timor people - and, for that matter, any other colonial people - its right to self-determination.

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

East Timor is a clear-cut case of colonial occupation. Its people should therefore be granted an opportunity to exercise the right to choose its own destiny. Certainly, the present colonial situation of that people is no exception to our own past colonial status. Justice, therefore, demands that its case should be treated no differently.

We believe it to be wrong, very wrong, to apply the self-determination principle selectively, upholding it when it suits our general foreign policy and turning our back on it when it does not favour what we perceive to be our national interest of the moment.

Indonesia claims that the people of East Timor chose integration with it. If that had been the result of a free choice made by that people, we would not be here today discussing the question of East Timor.

However, we are all aware that the so-called choice made by the East Timor people took place as a consequence of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor and under the duress of the military occupation of that Territory. No one, we are very sure, would consider a choice made under such circumstances to be free and credible.

But if in fact the people of East Timor did favour integration, as Indonesia has claimed, Indonesia should not be afraid of allowing a referendum in the Territory, supervised by the United Nations, as a means to put an end to the East Timor conflict.

Since 1982 the Secretary-General has had a mandate given by the General Assembly to initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned, with a view to exploring answers to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the problem. Nine years later no significant step has been taken, other than a pledge of co-operation, as reflected in document A/AC.109/1037. We believe that it is high time to find an internationally accepted solution for the question of East Timor.

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

At a time when there is a marked trend towards a search for peaceful solutions to international conflicts, and when there is a propitious international environment, one favourable to that search, we urge the parties involved, including Portugal, as the administering Power, to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in the discharge of his mandate, with a view to finding a final solution to the conflict.

Our countries continue to feel serious concern about the precarious human-rights situation that prevails in East Timor. The working paper (A/AC.109/1037) prepared by the Secretariat and, especially, the well-documented statement made in the Committee this morning by the representative of Amnesty International have further deepened that concern. We ask the Indonesian authorities to take measures to prevent and correct the abuses of human rights in the Territory. The human-rights monitoring bodies of the United Nations should also take steps to make sure that the abuses are ended.

In conclusion, it is our hope that tolerance and goodwill will prevail in the end, to allow for a peaceful solution to be worked out, to the benefit of the stability and brotherhood of all the peoples in the region.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Portugal.

Mr. QUARTIN-SANTOS (Portugal): As the United Nations is about to observe the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which is the very basis for the existence of the Special Committee, allow me to express once again our appreciation for the remarkable service it has rendered to the cause of decolonization, freedom and self-determination for all those peoples and Territories.

The anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of its historic resolution 1514 (XV) will also mark the launching of the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism, the aim of which is to eradicate all remnants of colonialism by the end of this last decade of the present century and millennium. It is naturally to be expected that the Special Committee will make a very important contribution to the attainment of that objective.

As everyone will certainly recall, Portugal's colonial policy in the past was one of the main targets of this Committee's activities. For almost two decades, my country challenged the principles of the Charter and the main United Nations resolutions regarding decolonization by denying to the Non-Self-Governing Territories under its jurisdiction the exercise of their legitimate right to self-determination and independence.

Those days ended in 1975. The decolonization of all but one of those Non-Self-Governing Territories was completed in that year.

Since that time, Portugal has come to the Special Committee to seek its assistance in carrying out its responsibilities as an administering Power bound to complete the decolonization process of its last colony, in accordance with the very principles and rules that have guided the work of this body since its creation.

In the case of East Timor, Portugal is not acting as an administering Power reluctant to relinquish any hypothetical and anachronistic colonial rule but

(Mr. Quartin-Santos, Portugal)

instead is striving to ensure to the Timorese people the free exercise of their inalienable right to freedom and self-determination against the illegal action of a neighbouring Power, a former colony itself and a member of the Special Committee as well.

When we address the Committee, we are not reflecting any backward ambition of colonial domination but rather our firm commitment to bringing about, in accordance with moral, legal and historical imperatives, a just solution to this problem that will take due account of the legitimate rights of the East Timorese. As we have said before, we are not engaged in any kind of dispute regarding sovereignty over the Territory of East Timor, nor are we attempting to "turn back the clock of history". Portugal's colonial rule over East Timor is over, but it is also our duty to do what we can to uphold the fundamental rights and freedoms of its people and to speak out in favour of its identity and cultural heritage.

The illegal status quo in East Timor has been presented through the years as a fait accompli. There have been many attempts to render that fait accompli more palatable to the international community.

At first it was argued that military intervention in East Timor had been necessary to prevent violence and chaos from spreading all over the Territory owing to its "abandonment" by the Portuguese colonial authorities. As our Foreign Minister said in a plenary meeting of the General Assembly, Portugal does not reject its share of responsibility for the difficulties and troubles that have affected the process of decolonization in East Timor. It must nevertheless be recognized that the aforementioned "reason" could not justify military conquest, pure and simple, however disguised. If a fire breaks out in my neighbour's home, it is understood that under certain circumstances I may enter his place to

(Mr. Quartin-Santos, Portugal)

extinguish the fire, thus preventing it from spreading to my home. But once the fire is out, nobody would maintain that I thereby had the right to remain in my neighbour's place for ever regardless of what he thinks about it. In the case under consideration, we must perhaps admit that the "fire" was a mere pretext.

An attempt was then made to justify the legitimacy of the occupation on the basis of an "act of free choice" consisting of a decision taken by a "people's assembly", composed of 37 hand-picked members, to address a petition to the Indonesian authorities asking that East Timor should be integrated with the Republic. That "act of free choice" was, however, never recognized by the United Nations, which took no part in the process and has reaffirmed the right of the East Timorese to self-determination. Resolutions adopted by the Security Council and General Assembly are self-explanatory in this regard.

It has also been argued that progress, economic development and education were brought in as a result of this new rule in contrast with the neglect and backwardness that were the pattern of the previous colonial days. Roads, bridges, schools, new buildings and other material improvements would be there to demonstrate the righteousness of a policy devised to improve the living conditions of the local people and bring them into the modern world.

We are certainly not here to defend Portuguese colonial rule in East Timor. It belongs to the past and will be judged by history. We would be among the first to rejoice at all these accomplishments, since they would contribute to the well-being of the people concerned. But we fail to understand why, until very recently, the Territory was virtually closed to the outside world, except for certain escorted visitors. Travel restrictions are still imposed in the area where two thirds of the population lives. Regrettably, therefore, those benefits are to

(Mr. Quartin-Santos, Portugal)

be seen only by very few people, and we also wonder why, with so impressive a record of progress, the free exercise of the right of self-determination is to be feared. It would certainly reinforce Indonesia's position on the question. Integration would then be the result of the genuine will of the East Timorese, and the relevant principles and resolutions of this Organization would be duly observed.

We have been told since the attempted incorporation of East Timor that the armed resistance confronting it was limited to a handful of individuals - 200 or 300 at most - deprived of popular support, forced to resort to robbery and to take refuge in the mountains. Its final liquidation has been promised for years. But how is it that such a modern, powerful army has so far been unable to fulfil that promise? How can one explain the fact that, according to a conservative estimate provided by Mr. Mario Carrascalao, the Indonesian-appointed Governor, from 1975 to 1985 more than 100,000 people perished as a result of the violence, famine and disease that spread all over the country? Also according to Mr. Carrascalao, about 80 per cent of East Timorese villages were relocated for security reasons. We have to conclude that the military conflict has thus been far more serious than we were led to believe.

It is also inconsistent with the Indonesian description that, instead of vanishing, actions and demonstrations by the opposition have recently been carried out by youngsters who have never experienced anything but the present political situation. That was quite evident in the demonstrations staged during the visit of His Holiness the Pope to the territory last October and during the presence at Dili of the United States Ambassador to Djakarta in January this year.

Highlights of an interesting report on East Timor prepared by a team of social scientists belonging to a prestigious Indonesian university institution were published in the Jakarta newspaper Kampas on 17 April. A partial reproduction of

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that report has also been available. It conveys a disturbing picture of the situation prevailing in East Timor. Referring to the continued "war situation" and to a "war economy", it states that East Timorese society is still in "trauma" and that "physical progress has failed to solve the social, economic and political problems resulting from the process of integration, which caused quite heavy loss of life".

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The team is also quoted as having pointed out that:

"Whereas the Indonesian Government considers that integration has resolved the matter of decolonization, East Timorese society does not see it in that light."

Other parts of the report deal with such matters as: the impact of a massive influx of settlers moving in from all parts of Indonesia; the lack of job opportunities for young people; an "overdose of military presence", stressing its dominating role both on the administration and on the economy; the lack of credibility of the local authorities and the feeling that the people are now "being colonized" through new forms and structures.

A special recommendation calls for the end of the so-called resettlement programme, allowing people to return to their original villages. This challenges one of the most important aspects of the anti-guerrilla warfare, whose importance can be evaluated from the figure I referred to earlier, when quoting Mr. Carrascalao, pointing out that 80 per cent of the villages had been removed from their original sites.

After the long-awaited proclamation of Namibia as an independent State - now a welcome Member of the United Nations - East Timor is the most populous of all Territories within the mandate of the Special Committee and second only to Western Sahara as regards geographical extension. Almost half of the 1.5 million inhabitants of the Non-Self-Governing Territories live in East Timor.

Now that a draft plan of action for the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism is to be submitted to the General Assembly at its next session, we believe that this is a particularly appropriate moment to reaffirm Portugal's readiness to extend to the Special Committee all possible co-operation with a view to reaching a settlement of the question of East Timor as quickly as possible, in accordance with the generally accepted principles and fundamental

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resolutions of the United Nations, which are the corner-stone of the work of the Committee and the reason for its very existence.

We willingly participated in one of the first initiatives organized in connection with the anniversary of the Declaration, the Vanuatu seminar dedicated to the specific problems faced by small Non-Self-Governing Territories of the Pacific. We believe that that was a good opportunity to make a closer approach and gain a better knowledge of the specific problems confronting those Territories.

I should like to recall in this regard, Mr. Chairman, your opening statement at the resumed session of the Special Committee on 1 August, when you said:

"Although most of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories are small in size and population, with limited resources, we reaffirm that the principles of the Declaration remain fully applicable to them." (A/AC.109/PV.1363, p. 9)

As the representative of Cape Verde has just reminded us, self-determination is not to be applied selectively.

Thus, we firmly believe that East Timor, in its very particular situation, constitutes one of the most serious cases ever to challenge the application of those principles.

Portugal was one of the sponsors of General Assembly resolution 37/30, which entrusted to the Secretary-General a mandate to initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned, with a view to exploring avenues for achieving a comprehensive settlement of the problem. We have, in fact, always believed, and continue to believe, that only through dialogue can confidence be built, possible solutions thoroughly studied and analysed, taking due account of all the legitimate interests involved, and differences be bridged. Only through dialogue instead of confrontation can the much-needed settlement of this question be achieved, bringing peace and justice to the East Timorese and allowing their land to return to normalcy and stable progress.

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Since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 37/30, therefore, we have participated diligently and constructively in the patient and relentless efforts of the Secretary-General and his associates to fulfil his mandate.

Portugal will, as it has always done in the past, co-operate in these efforts with a view to finding reasonable solutions to overcome the obstacles that have so far prevented any significant progress in achieving a substantial settlement of the question of East Timor, with full respect for the rights and legitimate interests of its people.

It is in this spirit that we are taking part in the talks that have been held with the Indonesian representatives under the auspices of the Secretary-General, aimed at reaching agreement on the terms of reference, modalities and timing that will enable a Portuguese parliamentary delegation to visit East Timor in the near future.

My delegation had the opportunity last year to express its views on this subject at greater length, and therefore I shall not dwell on it now. I should, however, like to reiterate that Portugal will do its utmost - with good faith and flexibility, but also with due regard to its responsibilities - to contribute to the success of these talks. Significant progress has already been achieved and we earnestly hope that the last remaining differences will rapidly be overcome so that the visit may take place as soon as possible. Let me I add that we expect the same spirit to prevail on the part of Indonesia.

As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal said last year in his address to the General Assembly, we are of the opinion that the success of these talks, nothwithstanding their limited scope, would certainly be helpful in creating a good atmosphere for their resumption on the very substance of the question.

It would indeed also be a very positive factor for our endeavours and a powerful contribution to the creation of a better atmosphere for dialogue if

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respect for human rights and basic freedoms in East Timor were to show clear signs of improvement. Unfortunately that does not seem to be the case. I should like to draw the Committee's attention in this regard to paragraphs 32 to 34 of the Secretariat's working paper on this question (A/AC.109/1037).

Both "Country Reports on Human Rights Practice for 1989, Indonesia", published by the United States Department of State, and the report on East Timor issued by Amnesty International state that serious human-rights problems remain. Numerous detentions, temporary disappearances of people, tortures and ill-treatment of prisoners are said to continue there. But worst of all, both reports mention that more than 20 civilians - the United States report mentions "two dozen or more" - were killed by the military in 1989. An atmosphere of fear and tension is thus said to be developing among the civil population. We urgently appeal to the Government of Indonesia to put an end to such appalling practices and to investigate and punish those responsible for them.

It should be recalled that the Sub-Committee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, a few weeks after the Special Committee met last year on this question, adopted a new resolution on the question of East Timor in which, inter alia, it regrets that more arrests, torture and summary executions had allegedly taken place in the Territory since the end of 1988 and appeals to the Indonesian Government to allow representatives of human-rights organizations to visit it.

A major event in the life of East Timor was undoubtedly the short visit paid to it last October by Pope John Paul II, which placed the Territory and the situation prevailing there under the world's spotlight. The incidents that then occurred and the ensuing harsh action taken by the authorities prompted the European Parliament to adopt a new resolution highly critical of Indonesia's policy

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towards East Timor. The demonstrations that took place at Dili for several days on the occasion of the visit of the United States Ambassador to Jakarta in mid-January illustrated again the unrest and tension that seem to prevail, especially among the young.

Several countries, humanitarian organizations and members of different parliaments, scholars and journalists, among others, have continued to voice concern over the human-rights situation in the Territory. I would refer specifically only to the statements made by the presidency on behalf of the 12 members of the European Community before the Third Committee of the General Assembly last year and the annual meeting of the Commission on Human Rights at Geneva and to the statement just made by the representative of Cape Verde, speaking on behalf of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe.

Information coming recently from various sources indicates that a considerable increase in Indonesian military activity has been allegedly detected since the beginning of March. Military clashes at different places have been reported lately. This is particularly disturbing in view of the ongoing talks I referred to earlier concerning the envisaged visit of a Portuguese parliamentary delegation to the Territory. If that is confirmed, it will have a very detrimental effect on the purpose of the visit and may jeopardize its accomplishment.

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All of this reinforces the belief that a return to normalcy in the Territory and respect for elementary human rights depend on the establishment of peace. And peace will not be possible without a settlement taking due account of the rights and aspirations of the people concerned.

In your statement of 1 August, Mr. Chairman, you also said that

"The Committee should continue to be vigorous in bringing to the attention of the administering Powers the concerns of the peoples of several of these Territories regarding the plundering of their natural resources, in particular marine resources, and ensure compliance with resolution III, paragraph 1 (a), of Annex I of the Final Act of the Third Conference on the Law of the Sea, which states that

"'In the case of a territory whose people have not attained full independence or other self-governing status recognized by the United Nations, or a territory under colonial domination, provisions concerning rights and interests under the Convention shall be implemented for the benefit of the people of the territory with a view to promoting their well-being and development.'". (A/AC.109/PV.1363, p. 12)

In that connection, I should like to call the Committee's attention to documents A/45/57 and A/45/60 of 14 and 18 December 1989 respectively, concerning the signing of a provisional agreement on the establishment of a "zone of co-operation" in the maritime area existing between East Timor and northern Australia, known as the Timor Gap.

My delegation reaffirms Portugal's position that that action constitutes a serious and blatant breach of international law in contempt of the United Nations and of the rights of the people of East Timor, especially its permanent sovereignty over its natural resources; furthermore, my delegation repeats that it reserves the

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right to resort to any legal means it may deem appropriate to uphold the legitimate rights of the East Timorese.

In conclusion, I should like again to make it very clear that Portugal, for its part, will do its utmost to find, through negotiation and dialogue, a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement of the question of East Timor. We shall continue to collaborate with the Secretary-General in an open and constructive spirit, and we remain fully committed to assisting him in his endeavours to make possible the attainment of that objective in the very near future.

Mr. NASIER (Indonesia): As in recent years, the delegation of Indonesia has already placed on record our objection to deliberations on the so-called question of East Timor in this Committee or in any other forum. We have consistently stated that any discussion of this question constitutes unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of Indonesia and runs counter to the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations.

In addition, we are opposed to the granting of hearings to petitioners who claim to be the protectors of the human rights of the people of East Timor. They make the preposterous claim that they speak on behalf of and in the interests of the people of East Timor, but their fictitious renditions do not bear any relation to the true situation in East Timor. Their statements represent merely a systematic smear campaign against Indonesia. Such slanderous and discrediting statements as those presented here today serve no useful purpose for the work of our Committee. The sole purpose of uttering those repetitious and unfounded allegations is to mislead the Committee and at the same time to depict the Indonesian Government as an oppressive, brutal and merciless Government that has no respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the East Timorese people

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and whose only aim is to inflict suffering on them and destroy their cultural identity.

Our delegation will not waste the Committee's valuable time by addressing those contemptible accusations. We shall confine our comments to setting the record straight with up-to-date facts and figures which explicitly demonstrate the further progress and achievements now taking place in East Timor.

It is a well-established fact that East Timor became an integral part, and the twenty-seventh province, of the Republic of Indonesia in July 1976, following the free and democratic exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of East Timor in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV), 1541 (XV) and 2625 (XXV).

In that connection, we should like to focus the Committee's attention once again on General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV) of 24 October 1970, which contains the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. That Declaration states, inter alia, that

> "The establishment of a sovereign and independent State, the free association or integration with an independent State or the emergence into any other political status freely determined by a people constitute modes of implementing the right of self-determination by that people". (General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex, preamble, para. 1)

The decision of the people of East Timor to integrate with Indonesia was, therefore, taken in conformity with resolutions 1514 (XV), 1541 (XV) and 2625 (XXV), with the United Nations informed of every step in the process of decolonization. We have already explained on previous occasions and in great detail the developments in East Timor which led to the Indonesian involvement in

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the completion of the decolonization process in East Timor. We refer the Committee to our earlier consistent statements, which are on record.

Indonesia is, of course, no stranger to the infertile seeds of colonial imperialism, which usually is closely linked to a definite lack of human dignity and to oppression in all walks of life. Colonial oppression over several centuries, coupled with the courageous opposition of our own freedom-fighters formed a sturdy pillar for our own nationalist movement, which finally led to our deeply cherished independence. Indonesia was one of the primary initiators of the first Asian-African Conference, which was convened at Bandung in April 1955. One of the first clear and firm opinions to emerge with our active participation was that "Colonialism in any form whatsoever constitutes an evil which must be put to an end". Therefore we have always empathized with the aspirations, the hopes and the plight of the people of East Timor, who were subjected to the heavy, arid hand of colonialism. When the people of East Timor made the irrevocable decision to become independent through integration with Indonesia, the process of decolonization was completed and the formal process of integration with Indonesia commenced.

It is increasingly evident to a large number of countries that, far from obstructing the orderly decolonization of East Timor, Indonesia's role has been precisely one of contributing to the process of the decolonization of that Territory by helping to ensure that in its essence and in its realization the democratically expressed will of the majority of the people will not be overruled by armed terror and the imposition of the will of a few discontented voices bent on stirring up strife and disharmony.

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Since integration, Indonesia's sincere and determined intent to give substance to the emancipation and freedom won by the people of East Timor is reflected in its continuous efforts towards the accelerated development of East Timor in all spheres of life - economic, political and social - as well as in the protection of cultural and religious rights.

As a result of over 450 years of Portuguese colonial rule, it is certainly no exaggeration to state that almost all of the population of East Timor found themselves in a state of extreme backwardness in many aspects of life. Before integration as a province of Indonesia, East Timor had a prevailing illiteracy rate of 80 per cent, a very primitive system of agriculture and an archaic system of communications. Considering the vast hurdles the people of East Timor faces, tremendous strides have been made in the development of agriculture, health, education, public housing and communications and in the restoration of basic human rights.

We recognized that one of the most important tasks confronting us was the development of telecommunication networks, which play such an important role in the process of community development in East Timor. Recently, on 26 May 1990, the Minister for Tourism, Post and Telecommunications inaugurated at Dili, the capital city of the province of East Timor, the operation of seven mini earth stations, a direct digital international link and two telecommunication centres. The setting up of the seven mini earth stations cost the Indonesian Government about 7.5 billion rupiah.

In the area of education, the head of the Regional Office of Education and Culture recently reported that the development progress made in the sector of education has succeeded in scaling down illiteracy in East Timor from 95 per cent in 1975 to 30 per cent at the end of 1988. The Government has successfully built hundreds of schools to accommodate 129,000 elementary-school students, 1,713 pupils

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in kindergartens, 26,315 students in junior high schools and 10,436 students in high schools. That mammoth progress in investment in education is highly commendable, especially after just 14 years of integration with Indonesia. After more than 450 years of Portuguese colonial domination, East Timor had only 10 graduates posted in the local administration, a negligible number in comparison with the present-day figure of 124.

In the agricultural sector, the overall increase in the production of commodities and in cultivated area has been due largely to improved, intensified planting patterns and the hard work of the agricultural information officers in the province. The cultivated area in the province of East Timor increased by more than 7,138 hectares during Indonesia's fourth Five-Year Development Plan, 1984-1988. In 1984 the cultivated area was recorded at about 148,000 hectares, producing about 20,811 tons of commodities. By 1988 the figures had increased to over 155,000 hectares and a total production of 24,314 tons. Now the Government has announced that efforts are being made to expand about 14,000 hectares of land to increase production, 14,200 hectares for rejuvenation and 14,500 hectares for diversifying commodities. By 1989, the total cultivated area of the province had increased to 164,876 hectares. For further increases in cultivated area and in productivity, the Indonesian Government is determined to continue its efforts in training field workers and local farmers.

In order to improve public-health facilities and to promote disease prevention, the Government will build clean-water facilities in 125 villages during the fifth Five-Year Development Plan. Several development projects now under construction will irrigate 7,580 hectares of land. Today East Timor has a sophisticated system to irrigate 22,240 hectares of land that has potential for agricultural cultivation.

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The qualitative and quantitative development of overland communication has greatly increased. Under colonial rule, overland communication was entirely at the service of the colonial administration. During that period, the only asphalted road that existed was a 20-kilometre route to Dili. At the end of the fourth Five-Year Plan in East Timor, 2,325 kilometres of asphalt-paved roads had been constructed and 19 bridges with a total length of 959 metres had been replaced.

The air communications between Jakarta and East Timor are now serviced by daily scheduled flights. Moreover, since the Indonesian province is now accessible to tourist travel, 13 districts have been designated and equipped with the necessary infrastructure in the areas of transport, communications, housing and other facilities to accommodate tourists. The Government believes that tourism will become important in generating business ventures and encouraging foreign investment in the region.

In the field of sea communications, Dili, the capital city of East Timor, constitutes the ideal harbour. In promoting tourism, the Department of Communications has recently announced that tourists can now travel on the luxury passenger ship MV Kelimutu of the PELNI Shipping Company. The luxury liner serves internal travel within Indonesia and includes the port of Dili, East Timor.

The multitude of accelerating developments now taking place in East Timor stretches on indefinitely. We are convinced that Committee members, with the sound testimony of all our achievements, realize that East Timor was never a closed area to which access was forbidden. Further, the active participatory role of the people of East Timor in rebuilding their own province is hardly evidence of a lack of human rights or any slightest form of human oppression.

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Recent developments in East Timor have further improved the situation in the province. One such positive development is the recent replacement of six battalions of the armed forces from East Timor with two new battalions specifically assigned to carry out civilian missions - for example, to work together with the local people in development projects such as agriculture, the building of infrastructures in villages and the building of houses of worship.

On this new assignment of the armed forces in East Timor, Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, the Apostolic Administrator of East Timor, said last February that his Church will fully assist members of the armed forces assigned to the province, since they are there to help improve the living standards of the East Timorese. Belo further said that they are assigned to help implement the development efforts of the local people. Before being sent to various villages, the soldiers are given directives by the local authorities, including the Dili diocese. Belo said that at the present time there is no security problem in East Timor. The East Timorese, he said, are now actively working with the local Government to develop their area. The Bishop said that the success of armed-forces missions in East Timor would be determined by co-operation with the local people. He therefore called on the soldiers to adjust themselves to the local people's ways and to respect the existing religions and traditions. It is pertinent to mention in that connection that Monsignor Belo has on several occasions expressed a favourable opinion not only on the leadership of Governor Carrascalao but also on that of the new military authorities responsible for the security of East Timor who have been appointed to implement the new policy.

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Recently, on 12 October 1989, Pope John Paul II visited the province of East Timor, during his pastoral visit to Indonesia from 9 to 14 October 1989. The visit took place amidst much joy and happiness, despite a brief interruption by a very few demonstrators. Any allegations of chaos or human oppression are wholly untrue. The Pope said the following in his enlightening speech to the citizens of all provinces of the Republic of Indonesia, who heard the Pope's statement with joy and pride:

"Lack of faith and secularization present, in reality, challenges to be acknowledged by all believers, who are called upon to give witness together to the primacy of God above all things. Because of that, besides the religious freedom which the State should guarantee, it is essential that there be better acquaintance with, and better co-operation among, religions. In this regard, I was able personally to verify the beneficial effects of this interconfessional understanding in Indonesia, where the principles of Pancha Sila allow who practise Islam and other religions practised by the inhabitants of this country to encounter each other in a harmonious dialogue which is of benefit to the whole society."

The evidence of the growth of and the atmosphere of freedom enveloping the Catholic church and all other religions has laid to rest many unfounded accusations. The people of East Timor were so spiritually moved by the Pope's address, the message of which injected their spirit with hope and faith.

Bishop Belo reflected the resolute sentiments of the people of East Timor when he said the following in his Christmas message of 11 December 1989:

"A bright sign towards change is also offered to us in East Timor. Together, we obtained a deep spiritual experience thanks to the visit of His Holiness Pope John Paul II. We were given the opportunity personally to

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see the Pope, who visited our beloved East Timor. We responded to his hand-waving, felt the very warmth of his presence and listened to his special message of hope for us. A bright sign shone from the Pope's hope: that of peace, reconciliation, harmony and the healing of wounds through forgiving each other. The Pope said that to bring this bright sign to East Timor the Church needed courage, determination and patience. Now it is up to us to respond to the Pope's hope."

For 14 years the Special Committee has been hearing the same accusations and slander directed against Indonesia. Distortions and fabrications have been presented to the Special Committee as facts. The question that must be addressed by this body is whether the series of allegations by the petitioners will really contribute to the promotion of the human rights and the well-being of the East Timorese people. We believe that the petitioners know full well that the best and most effective way to help the people of Timor is to show some respect, co-operation and good will to the Indonesian Government and to take constructive steps. But since their real concern is not the well-being of the East Timorese, the petitioners have used this forum only to discredit Indonesia and to gain international publicity for their own purposes.

The Special Committee must have noted that in their statements the petitioners have never indicated the general feeling of the people. Instead, they have deliberately presented the sentiments of a few disgruntled East Timorese who have failed to go along with the decision of the people to integrate with Indonesia. Thus, the petitioners do not represent the majority of people in East Timor.

Be that as it may, it remains for our delegation to reiterate the Indonesian Government's continued commitment to the people of East Timor to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms through our efforts to develop East Timor -

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politically, economically, socially and culturally. The Indonesian Government continues to pledge its co-operation to the Special Committee and to any individuals or organizations that have a genuine concern about the people of East Timor. We are convinced that deliberations on the question of East Timor do not serve any useful purpose, and therefore this question should be removed from the Committee's agenda.

The CHAIRMAN: As there appear to be no other speakers, may I take it that the Committee decides to continue consideration of this item at its next session, subject to any directives that the General Assembly might give in this connection at its forty-fifth session?

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.